MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY OF ISLAMIC TEXTILES UP TO THE MONGOL CONQUEST

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CHAPTER IV*

ṬIRĀZ CITIES IN KHUZISTAN

At the head of the Persian Gulf lies the small but very important province of Khuzistan, a textile manufacturing center in no way inferior to the great Tinnīs-Damietta group of factories in Egypt, and containing one of the most eminent of all cities, Tustar, which at one period in its history manufactured the covering for the Kaaba. Like the Tinnīs and Damietta stuffs, Tustar (or Shustar) materials occur frequently in historical works and seem to have been almost universally worn by the moneyed classes. In style they were not unlike the Egyptian textiles, and this may have been due to the fact that the district was settled with prisoners of war from eastern Byzantium, which area probably also exerted the same influence on Egyptian textiles. The situation of this little province on the great Baghdad–China trade route must have extended the range of its influence and facilitated the diffusion of its products to all quarters of the Islamic world (Map 1; see also Map 2 of Chapter III).

Ahwāz, the capital of the province, seems to have possessed no ṭirāz factory, but rather to have been the collecting center for all the manufactures of the province. Maḳdisī [1] called it the "storehouse (khizāna) of Basra," where "silks (khazz) and brocades are collected, and goods and merchandise are brought. It is an emporium and place for the meeting of merchants." He added [2] that "beautiful cloths (fūṭa) of silk (ḳazz), which women wear, are made in al-Ahwāz." The *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* [3] tells that "the silk (khazz) of Sūs and the brocade of Tustar are some of the precious things attributed to Ahwāz." The town was known as Sūḳ al-Ahwāz (the "Market" of Ahwāz) to the Arabs, a tribute to its commercial importance. Ḳazwīnī [4] went so far as to say: "You will find there no science, culture, or fine craft (al-ṣanā'i' al-sharīfa)." In Egypt the term "sharīf" is used to describe the ṭirāz factories (al-'amal al-sharīf). Djāḥiz [5] is the earliest author to mention that silken brocade (dībādj al-khazz) comes from it.

The seaport of Khuzistan and of Fars was Mahrūbān, whence merchandise of Khuzi-

* See preceding chapters in *Ars Islamica*, Vol. IX (1942).

[1] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio Imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (= *B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 411.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 416.

[3] Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 426, reading ديباج تستر for ديباج تسر. Though a badly edited text, this contains some interesting variants from the author's *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867).

[4] Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 102.

[5] Djāḥiz, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 345.

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stan was exported to Basra. It grew flax and exported it to the surrounding countries, according to Ibn al-Balkhī.[6]

A few general remarks are made about the province by the anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*[7] who said that it produces "manifold textiles, curtains (parda-hā), suzandjird (textiles), trousercords (shalvārband)." Maḳdisī[8] added that "its cloth (bazz) is brocade (dībādj), khazz-silk, fine cotton, and ḳazz-silk."[9]

TUSTAR

Tha'ālibī[10] stated that "Shapur Dhu 'l-Aktāf fell on the inhabitants of Sindjār, Buṣrā, Ṭuwāna, and Āmid, and took a great many prisoners, some of whom he established at Tustar, some at Sūs, making them become weavers of brocade and khazz-silk there." Yāḳūt[11] differed slightly:

> They say that Sābūr Dhu 'l-Aktāf raided Jazira and Āmid and other Roman towns and transported some of the inhabitants and settled them in the districts of Khuzistan. They multiplied and lived in those places so that, from that time, the Tustar brocade and other kinds of silk (ḥarīr) came to Tustar, and khazz-silk was brought to Sūs, and curtains, and drapery (farsh) to Baṣinna and Mattūth, up to the present day. God alone knows whether this be true.[12]

Ḳazwīnī[13] also quoted this passage, adding that "the crafts (ṣanā'i') of Rum appeared in Tustar."

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim[14] talked of Tustar seats (maḳā'id), the material apparently being used as upholstery. Ibn al-Faḳīh[15] said that "the inhabitants of Sūs in particular, and Djundaishāpūr, are skilled in the manufacture of various kinds of silken and brocade garments, as are the inhabitants of Tustar." Miskawaihī noted that "Muḳtadir's mother (*ca.* 300 H. [912 A.D.]) has boxes containing embroideries (washī) and brocade of Rum and Tustar, heavily adorned

[6] Ibn al-Balkhī, "Description of the Province of Fars. . . . ," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.* (1912). Also as a separate volume in Asiatic Society Monographs, No. 14, pp. 63–64.

[7] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., xi, 130.

[8] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 402.

[9] Henceforth the word "brocade" will represent dībādj unless stated to the contrary. Al-Muṭarrizī (Nāṣir b. 'Abd al-Saiyid) defined it thus: "Dībādj—the cloth (thawb), the warp (sadā), and woof (luḥma) of which are ibrīsm-silk . . . . on the authority of al-Nakha'ī it is related that he possessed a brocaded head scarf (ṭailasān mudabbadj), i.e., with its edges ornamented (munaḳḳash), decorated (muzaiyana) with brocade." Al-Mughrib fī Tartīb al-Mu'rib (Haidarabad, 1328 H. [1910 A.D.]), I, 173. Reference supplied by M. Minovi.

[10] Tha'ālibī, *Histoire des rois des perses,* ed. and trans. by H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1900), p. 530.

[11] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 496.

[12] Mas'udī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), II, 185–86, and in a parallel passage mentions Niṣibīn and Manūt. Yāḳūt was doubtless correct, and calligraphic confusion easily explains Mas'ūdī's text. See Chapter III, n. 74.

[13] *Ibid,* II, 114.

[14] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim,* ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 36.

[15] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 253.

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(muthaḳḳal) with gold, carpets of leather, striped silks (khazz-raḳm), and brocade."[16] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi said: "In Tustar are made Tustar garments, that is to say mantles (malāḥif)."[17]

Ibn Taghrībirdī reported that in the year 301 H. (913-14 A.D.), "the governor (Ahmed al-Rāsibī) of the territory of Wāsiṭ to Djundaishāpūr, and from Sūs to Shahrazūr died. He had eighty ṭirāz factories in which garments were made for his apparel."[18] It seems that even as early as this the great governors had more or less complete control over the ṭirāz factories. When he died, al-Rāsibī, according to Yāḳūt, left among other treasures:

> Eighteen robes, consisting of garments woven (mansūdi) with gold, the price of each being 300 dinars. Of the various kinds of robes (kiswa), those worth 20,000 dinars. Of the various kinds of carpet (fursh), those which cost 10,000 dinars.[19]

This governor resided at Dūr, and it is very likely that some of the precious garments came from Tustar.

Iṣṭakhrī (340 H. [951 A.D.]) remarked a very important innovation in Tustar: "Now, as for Tustar, it is there that the brocade which is carried all over the world, is made. The sultan (Mu'izz al-Dawla) has a ṭirāz-factory there."[20] The Kaaba covering can only have been made here for a very short time, however, for Ibn Ḥawḳal (367 H. [978 A.D.]) said:

> In Tustar the brocade is made which is taken to the whole world. The cover of the Kaaba, the Sacred House, used to be made there until the Sultan became poverty-stricken and was prevented from so doing. The obligation on his part thus fell into desuetude. Every king of Iraq used to have a ṭirāz-factory there, and a representative (ṣāḥib).[21]

The manuacture of the Kaaba covering at Shustar must have been introduced before the memory of Iṣṭakhrī, or he would surely have described how and when it first came to be made there. I have suggested elsewhere that the coverings were first made in Tustar by the regent al-Muwaffaḳ. Doubtless in the age of the decline of the Abbasid caliphate, the Egyptian Fatimids sent their own coverings.

Tanūkhī[22] often mentioned these Tustar stuffs, telling that Mu'izz al-Dawla sat on a "fine new seat (dast) of brocade which he had had made in Tustar, and which had cost him 2,000 dinars." Again, Tanūkhī recorded that garments and fine turbans ('imāma)[23] used to

[16] Miskawaihī, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–21), I, 244.

[17] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 267. Malāḥif is perhaps better translated "blankets" or "quilts."

[18] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-Ẓāhira*, ed. T. W. J. Juynboll and B. F. Mattes (Leyden, 1855–61), II, 192. Cf. 'Arīb, *Ṭabarī continuatus*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1897), pp. 44–45, which adds, "in which garments of khazz-silk, etc., were woven."

[19] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 616.

[20] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum. . . .*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 92.

[21] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna. . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), II, 175. See al-Muwaffaḳ in Chapter II, Pt. 1.

[22] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara, Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth, Oriental Trans. Fund (London, 1921), trans. p. 162.

[23] Tanūkhī, *op. cit.*, text p. 29, trans. p. 31, but I suspect that one should read Dabīḳī shuḳairī, "red Dabīḳī cloth" for Dabīḳī Shustarī.

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be made there and that one day al-Ṣāḥib ibn ʿAbbād put on a turban with a broad ṭirāz border of the manufacture of Tustar. He said that a Dabīḳī robe of Shustar cost two hundred dinars (ḳamīṣ Dabīḳī Shustarī). Whether this type of cloth is a copy of the Egyptian kind of Tinnīs-Damietta, or whether it is just a linen cloth of a similar variety, is impossible to say.

Maḳdisī called these garments "Marvian," a term used very loosely by Arab writers: "From Tustar beautiful brocade is brought, carpets (anmāṭ), and beautiful Marvian garments." [24] He added: "Tustar is a mine for every skilled workman in the art of manufacturing brocade and cotton. Opposites come together here. . . . Many special products (of various countries) come to it from both East and West." It had two sets of cloth markets in his time.[25]

The *Laṭā'if al-Maʿārif* [26] (430 H. [1037 A.D.]) has heard of no decline in its production: "It has a ṭirāz-factory of splendid brocades. It is specially renowned for Rūmī (Byzantine) brocades." Idrīsī showed where the manufacture of Kaaba coverings was transferred: "At Tustar they make beautiful silk stuffs. It was from the workshops of this town that the covering of the Kaaba used to come. In our days they make this stuff in Iraq whence it is sent to Mecca every year." [27] Mustawfī,[28] after the Mongol conquest, mentioned its cotton growing. In the early nineteenth century cloth was still made there and was remarked on by the English traveler Buckingham.

One of the fullest descriptions of the style of the textiles made in Shustar is given in a work written at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the *Tadhkira-i-Shūstarīya*, which, of course, draws on early sources:

> Moreover the weaving of brocade is carried on, from that goat-hair (kargī [29]) which comes to Djawzaḳ Ḳalblab in autumn, of a higher quality than silk (ḥarīr) and finer. They adorn it with gold and silver ṭirāz designs (nuḳūsh) of various colors. In former times the robes (albisa) and turbans ('imāma) of kings were all made of this. Shūstarī brocade (dībā) was proverbial among contemporary poets and men of taste. 'Abd al-Wāsi' Djabalī, who was a silver-tongued orator, in panegyrics of the Sultan Sandjar and others, compared every flowering plant of spring, the dewy freshness on the cheek of his mistress, and the furnishings of the mighty monarch's audience chamber to Shūstarī brocade. In a panegyric on Sultan 'Abd al-Ṣamad he says:
>
> "Each day he composes in thine honour a poem of praise, adorned with the colors of Shūstarī brocade."
>
> In another place he has said:

[24] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 409.

[26] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Maʿārif*, p. 107.

[27] Idrīsī, *Géographie*, trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 383.

[28] Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, trans. by G. le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden–London, 1919), XXIII, II, 108.

[29] Saiyid 'Abd Allāh al-Shūshtarī, *Tadhkira-i-Shūshtar*, ed. Maula Bakhsh and M. Hidayet Husain, Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta, 1914), pp. 7–8.

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"Sometimes she would don a veil of hyacinth over painted Chinese silk (parniyān).
Sometimes she would knot an amber veil over a piece of embroidered cloth of Shūstar (ṭirāz-i-Shūstar)." [30]

Minūčihrī of the Seljuk period is full of references to many kinds of cloth, and Shustar stuffs figure frequently in his verses. Some conception of their richness may be formed from the comparisons which he used:

Thou wouldst say that they had opened the door of Paradise to this palace.
All the upper part was of Rūmī brocade, and all the lower part was covered by Shūstar stuffs (kālā-i-Shūstar).

Elsewhere he said:

The garden desolates a hundred factories (kārgāh) of Shūstar, and the plain would close a hundred factories of Tibet (by the beauty of the flowers growing upon it).
This white lily which has blossomed in the garden has one branch of silver and one of gold. You would say that it was a brocade shirt of Tustar, the outside of an indigo-blue color, and the lining of ivory.[31]

SŪS

Sūs like Tustar was a center of royal manufactures long before Muslim times. Shapur II (309–79 A.D.) had the town stamped down by elephants and refounded with Roman prisoners as seen above. It was the capital of one of the seven districts of Khuzistan.

In the *Dīwān* of Ḳais al-Ruḳaiyāt, there is a poem in praise of 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān,[32] in which ladies are mentioned wearing "silk of Sūs (khazz), and red silks (iḍrīḏj), separated by strips of white silk (saraḳ)." Sulaimān, the Umayyad caliph, too, called for green Sūsī garments which seem to have consisted of a green cloak (ḥulla), and a green turban ('imāma), all this about the year 99 H. (717 A.D.).[33] The *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* [34] numbers Sūs mitraf cloaks as one of the stuffs worn by the elegant, while Ḏjāḥiz [35] found that coverings (ḏjilāl) and saddle cloths (or cushions barādhi') came from that city. Ibn al-Faḳīh and Mas'ūdī have already been quoted, but the latter further added that the Caliph Mu'taḍid (279–89 H. [892–902 A.D.]) told the keepers of the wardrobe (khuzzān) to reserve the Sūsī and Dabīḳī stuffs for his own personal use.[36]

Iṣṭakhrī stated: "In Sūs are made silks (khuzūz) which are despatched to all lands from it. . . . In Sūs, the Sultan (Mu'izz al-Dawla) has a ṭirāz-factory." [37] Ibn Ḥawḳal and Maḳdisī

[30] Reading kargi for karki. See J. A. Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum Etymologicum* (Bonn, 1855–67).

[31] A. de Biberstein Kazimirsky, *Menoutchehri, poète persan du 11ème siècle de notre ère* (Paris, 1886), text pp. 57 and 125. Cf. 'Arīb, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[32] "Der Dîwân des 'Ubaid-Allâh ibn Ḳais ar-Ruḳajjât," ed. and trans. by N. Rhodokanakis, *Sitzungsber. d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. Wien.*, CXLIV (1902), 265, No. lxiii, verse 8.

[33] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), Ser. II, III, 1337.

[34] Al-Washshā, *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 124.

[35] Ḏjāḥiz, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

[36] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, VIII, 115.

[37] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

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added little: "In Sūs heavy silks (khuzūz thaḳīla) are made and taken to all parts." [38] The latter said: "From Sūs come cloth (bazz) and silk (khazz). . . . One of their special products is the khazz-silk of Sūs with the exception of the turbans, because the soft cloth (sakb) of Kufa has no peer." [39] The contemporary of Maḳdisī who wrote the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* called it "the emporium of Khuzistan. It produces textiles and turbans of precious silk stuff (djāma va 'amāma-yi khaz)." [40] The *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* says: "In Sūs is a ṭirāz factory of precious kingly silks" (khazz mulūkī—a name which is applied to other stuffs bearing the ṭirāz inscription).[41] Finally, Idrīsī [42] remarked that "in the town they make all kinds of silk stuffs which are exported into foreign countries and as far as the extremities of Khurasan."

The city gradually became deserted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the remains have been examined by a French expedition.

ḲURḲŪB

The following notices on the manufactures in Ḳurḳūb have been found. Ṭabarī [43] under the annals for the year 144 H. (761 A.D.) spoke of a coarse shirt (ḳamīṣ) and a cloak (ridā') of twisted Ḳurḳūbī. Iṣṭakhrī [44] said: "In Ḳurḳūb is the sūsandjird stuff which is carried to all regions. There, and in Sūs are ṭirāz-factories belonging to the Sultan (Mu'izz al-Dawla)." Idrīsī remarked:

> It is here that they make the painted and rayed stuff known under the name of raḳm al-Ḳurḳūbī, as well as rich brocades known as kharad [45] of so rare a beauty that they have no parallels in the universe. It is in Ḳurḳūb, as in Sūs, that they make the various stuffs designed for the clothing of princes, which are sold at so high a price.[46]

Minūčihrī often mentioned Ḳurḳūbī stuffs, usually along with those of Rum (Byzantium). They seem to have been flower-embroidered fabrics, perhaps with a green base like sundus brocade: "They have thrown down cushions (bālish) of Ḳurḳūbī in the desert and mattresses (bistar) of Būḳalamūn have been spread in the valleys." [47]

FACTORIES IN 'ASKAR, DJUNDAISHĀPŪR, AND LŪR

The references to 'Askar are to be found in Maḳdisī who said: "In the villages there are many ṭirāz-factories, especially in Mashruḳān." [48] The latter was a canal running from the Great Weir at Tustar, then back again into the Dudjail at 'Askar Mukram, and one might infer that these factories were dotted all along the course of the canal. Of 'Askar itself, he

[38] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
[39] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 416–17.
[40] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 131. Cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, IV, 267, where Sūsī stuffs are also mentioned.
[41] Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 107. Cf. p. 132.
[42] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 381.
[43] Ṭabarī, *Annales.*, III, I, 168.
[44] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, 93. Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, 175. *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 131.
[45] For kharad, which does not appear in the dictionaries, read khazz.
[46] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 383. This translation is full of wide inaccuracies and must be accepted with reservations.
[47] Minūčihrī, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
[48] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

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said: "From 'Askar veils (maḳāni') of ḳazz-silk are brought to Baghdad and excellent cloth (bazz) with durable qualities, garments of flax (ḳunnab), napkins (mandīl), and other things that are abundant in Ahwāz." [49] The earlier Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi [50] said that 'Askar has 'Askarī garments.

Maḳdisī [51] noted that the people of Djundaishāpūr have many ṭirāz factories. This city also was founded by Shapur with Greek prisoners.

The same author [52] added that in the whole district of Lūr there were many ṭirāz factories, although none of them seems to have had so high a repute as those above. The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* [53] makes the surprising statement that "Īdha (the capital of Lūr) produces great quantities of brocades. There also the brocade for the cover of Mecca (parda-yi-Makka) is made." Minorsky proposed to read Tustar here for Īdha, but Idrīsī [54] said that "there are at Īdhadj various other manufactures; the cleverness and application of the workers in this town is beyond comparison."

THE BAṢINNĀ GROUP

There was another cluster of small towns or large villages in Khuzistan where inscribed garments were made, though there is no evidence to show that they were connected with the royal ṭirāz system. This group was centered round Baṣinnā, in the same part of the province as Sūs and Tustar, on the Karkheh River. These Baṣinnā stuffs, however, always seem to be mentioned in connection with the royal palaces; for instance, Muḳtadir at the close of the third century A.H. had Baṣinnā curtains [55] displayed for the visit of the Byzantine ambassador. Iṣṭakhrī [56] said:

> In Baṣinnā there are made the curtains which are taken to all regions with "'amal Baṣinnā" (manufacture of Baṣinnā) written upon them. There are sometimes made in Birdhawn and Kalīwān and other such towns, curtains with "Baṣinnā" written on them sold as Baṣinnā curtains, but the origin is from Baṣinnā.

As in the case of Bukhara, where Zandadjī cloths took their name from the village of Zandana, though manufactured in other villages, the name was thus extended to similar weaves. Ibn Ḥawḳal [57] added: "Baṣinnā is one of the celebrated towns famed throughout the

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 416.

[50] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, IV, 267.

[51] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 409.

[53] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 130.

[54] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

[55] See Chapter II.

[56] Iṣṭakhrī, *op cit.*, p. 93. The practice of faking the name of the country of origin on textiles seems to have been not uncommon, for there is a special injunction against this type of fraud in the *Madkhal* of Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (Cairo, 1348 H. [1929 A.D.], IV, 29), to be dated about 732 H. (1331–2 A.D.). Speaking of the cloth merchant, he said: "It is incumbent on him when he has pieces of cloth (khirḳa) derived from a district the cloth (ḳumāsh) of which is much sought after by the public, not to sell the cloth of another district as the manufacture of the first, even though the two districts are close to one another . . . . Analogous to this is the case of a craftsman who is good at weaving (nasadj), the public competing to put up the price of cloth (thawb) attributed to him. So let him (the merchant) not sell anything manufactured by someone else as his work, even if it be like it, or better."

[57] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

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whole world, renowned for the curtains (sutūr) which are imported to every clime." The *Ḥudūd* [58] merely states that it "produces good curtains exported everywhere." Maḳdisī [59] had fresh information: "The curtains (sutūr) of Baṣinnā, and the carpets (anmāṭ) of Ḳurḳūb are well known. In the environs of Wāsiṭ, curtains are made on which there is written "mimmā 'umila bi-Baṣinnā"; these are exported as coming from that place, but they are not like them" and [60] "the men and women weave carpets and spin wool." He spoke of Baṣinnā, the curtains of which are found as far as the heavenly lote tree. Idrīsī [61] and Yāḳūt [62] copied these accounts.

OTHER TEXTILE CITIES

Though Khuzistan contained a great many cities with ṭirāz factories, there were other villages in which no ṭirāz is mentioned. One may suspect that Dawraḳ had one of these factories, for carpets (busuṭ) and strips (ankhākh) of Dawraḳ are named as some of the fineries displayed for the Byzantine ambassador.[63] Maḳdisī [64] merely noted that it was a source of khaish, a kind of coarse cloth which was often used in tents.

Of Rāmhurmuz, Iṣṭakhrī (followed by Ibn Ḥawḳal) said: "In Rāmhurmuz are garments of ibrīsm-silk which are taken to many places." [65] Idrīsi stated that "they make various articles of merchandise here and silk destined for export." [66] The *Sharaf-nāmah* [67] mentions its fine stuffs (ḳumāsh). Rabbi Petachia noted that "at Shushan there are two (families of) Jews who are dyers." [68] This place has been identified as Sūsan on the Karun. Nahr Tīrā has several notices devoted to it; Iṣṭakhrī [69] said: "In it there are garments resembling those of Baghdad. They are taken to Baghdad, and exposed for sale as Baghdad cloth. They are bleached in Baghdad." Ibn Ḥawḳal [70] added that they are taken everywhere and that nobody suspects that they are not from Baghdad, for they are lovely. Maḳdisī [71] mentioned the large izārs (women's cloaks, men's trousers, or loin cloth) which are made in Nahr Tīrā, and Idrīsī said that it has "many articles of commerce. They manufacture beautiful stuffs there." [72] The material in question would seem to be some plain white cloth, but further details are lacking.

After the Mongol conquest, Mustawfī [73] remarked that "Ḥawīza grows cotton, as Rāmuz (Rāmhurmuz)."

[58] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 131.
[59] Maḳdisī., *op. cit.*, p. 416.
[60] *Op. cit.*, pp. 408 and 402.
[61] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 384.
[62] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 561 and 656; IV, 303.
[63] See Chapter II.
[64] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 412.
[65] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
[66] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 382.
[67] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *Scheref Nameh ou Fastes de la Nation Kourde*, trans. by F. B. Charmoy (St. Petersburg, 1868–75), I, 107.
[68] A. Benish and W. F. Ainsworth, *The Travels of Rabbi Petaḥyah* (London, 1856), p. 39. The identification is open to doubt.
[69] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
[70] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
[71] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 416.
[72] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 385. Cf. *Géographie d' Aboulféda*, ed. M. Reinaud and M. Le Bon MacGuckin de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 317, quoting Ibn Ḥawḳal.
[73] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

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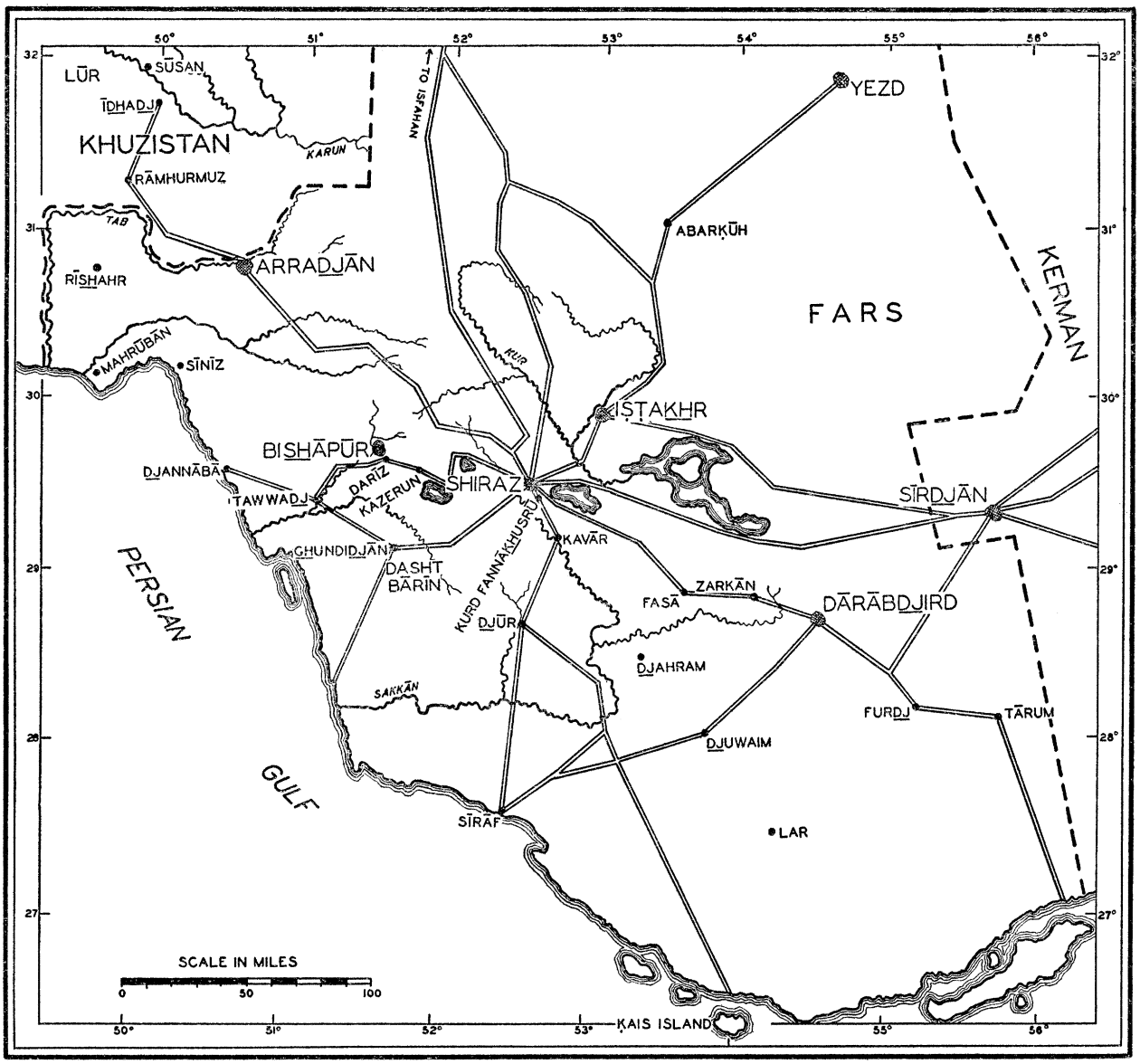
CHAPTER V

THE FARS GROUP

NEXT TO THE PROVINCE OF KHUZISTAN, AND VERY CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH IT WAS FARS, a land pre-eminent for many kinds of manufactures. Nearly every city made some special kind of cloth, and several possessed royal factories. The central position on the Persian Gulf may have encouraged the flourishing industries there. The ṭirāz cities, for the most part, lay in the southern district (Map 1).



MAP 1—FARS

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Djāḥiz [1] said that "the best robes (aksiya) are of Egyptian wool, then the Fars-Khuzistan kind, and the fine goat-hair (mar'azzā) in Fars, the fine Shiraz goat-hair, then the Iṣfāhānī and the fine goat-hair in the ibrīsm-silk of Fasā, then the Ṭabarī kind."

The *Ḥudūd* [2] says that "it produces manifold textiles (djāmah) of linen (kattān), wool, cotton, carpets, rugs (bisāṭ va fursh), zīlū-rugs, and gilīm (tapestry-woven carpets)." Maḳdisī [3] reported that "in it are made the mantles (abrād), silks (khazz), and art carpets (al-busuṭ al-ṣanī'a),[4] cloth (bazz), wonderful garments (aksiya), curtains (sutūr), linen garments (thiyāb al-kattān) resembling ḳaṣab,[5] brocade, and various kinds of striped robes (ḥulla)."

Though the *Djirāb al-Dawla* does not mention any textiles in the kharādj (annual tax) of Fars, Tha'ālibī [6] said that every year there used to be brought to the caliphs, according to the custom of carrying the special products of the province along with its tribute, thirty thousand bottles (ḳārūra) of Djūrī rose water, five thousand garments of the Tawwazī kind, and two hundred robes (aksiya). The same author also mentioned the robes of Fars in a list of the fine articles de luxe of the time of 'Aḍud al-Dawla.[7]

Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal both listed the ṭirāz cities of Fars, and I have thought it worth while to include the two accounts here, though the differences are but trifling for the most part. The former [8] said:

From Sīnīz, Djannābā, Kāzirūn, and Tawwadj, garments of linen are brought. In each of these places, with the exception of Kāzirūn, the sultan ('Aḍud al-Dawla) has a ṭirāz factory. These garments are taken to the utmost limits of all the countries of Islam. From Fasā are brought several kinds of garments which are exported to various districts. In it there is a ṭirāz factory for figured washī-stuff, and goat hair (sha'r), and sūsandjird, belonging to the sultan. Now concerning the washī-stuff, the gold (mudhahhab) variety brought thence is better than that which is brought from the other provinces, while, as for the plain (ghair mudhahhab) variety, that which is produced in Djahram is better and more plentiful. As for the goat hair, the sultan is brought cloths weighing a mithḳāl (mithḳālīya),[9] which fetch a high price, and expensive veils (or curtains, kilāl), as well as

[1] Djāḥiz, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Ḥasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 337.

[2] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 126.

[3] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed. 1906), III, 420.

[4] Thus in A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam,* trans. by Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth (London, 1937).

[5] Ḳaṣab was not essentially an Egyptian stuff though manufactured extensively there. The Sasanian monarchs used it as a tent cloth as did the Umayyads who followed them. The Abbasid, Manṣūr, was the first to use khaish instead. It probably came from this area. See Ṭabarī, *Annales,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), ser. III, I, 417–18.

[6] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 109.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 132.

[8] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum. . . .,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 152.

[9] The Glossary to the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* suggests the sense of muthaḳḳala here, meaning perhaps "reinforced with gold," i.e., brocaded or embroidered with gold, but emendation of the text is not necessary. Niẓām al-Dīn Mahmūd Ḳārī of Yazd mentioned mithḳālī in his *Dīwān-i Albisa* (Constantinople, 1303 H. [1885–6 A.D.]), p. 14.

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other kinds of goat hair weaves (shaʿr). For the sultan, ḳazz-silk curtains are made with borders (sutūr muʿlama); garments of silk and goat hair (shaʿr), exported to many of the provinces of Islam, are sent from here. The sūsandjird found there is more precious than that of Ḳurḳūb, Tawwadj, and Tārum. In it are to be found silken robes (aksiya) that fetch a very high price. From Djahram are brought expensive garments of washī, carpets (busuṭ), carpet strips (nakhkh), prayer carpets (muṣallayāt), and large carpets (zullīya), which are known as Djahramī. From Yezd and Abarḳūh are brought cotton garments that are exported to all the provinces. From Ghundidjān, capital of Dasht Bārīn, are brought carpets (busuṭ), curtains (sutūr), and cushions (maḳʿad), which the Armenian manufacture cannot equal. It is carried to all countries. The sūsandjird of Fasā is preferable to the sūsandjird of Ḳurḳūb only because the Ḳurḳūbī variety is ibrīsm-silk, and this wool is better than ibrīsm-silk in manufacture.

Ibn Ḥawḳal's account reads:

From Shīnīz are brought Shīnīzī garments, from Djannābā, Djannābī kerchiefs (mindīl), and from Tawwadj, Tawwazī garments, which kind has no similar type in the world, though there are more valuable ones. In every district of it the sultan (ʿAḍud al-Dawla) has a ṭirāz factory. . . . From Fasā various kinds of garments are brought which are carried to the most distant places. There is a ṭirāz for the precious washī-robes the like of which is not to be found in any other district when golden (mudhahhab); when it is plain it is like that of Djahram and elsewhere. For the sultan and for merchants there are made in wool textiles for upholstery (fursh), which fetch a great price, and valuable curtains (or veils, kilāl) of all kinds of silk (ḥarīr). For the sultan there are also made curtains of a kind marked with round circles and with borders (sutūr muʿaiyana muʿlama) of ḳazz-silk and of wool, which are taken to other provinces; the sūsandjird to be found there is more valuable than that in Ḳurḳūb and Tawwadj, and Tārum. In it are to be found robes (aksiya) of ḳazz-silk that are sold at the most overwhelming prices, such as a hundred dinars and so on. From Djahram carpets of valuable washī figured stuff are brought, and the carpets (busuṭ), carpet strips (nakhākh), prayer carpets (muṣallayāt), and large carpets (zullīya) are renowned throughout the world.

From Yezd and Abarḳūh are brought cotton garments, which are taken to all districts, and from Ghundidjān, the caital of Dasht Bārīn, are brought carpets (busuṭ), curtains (sutūr), and cushions (maḳʿad), which are taken to all regions, and which the manufacture of Armenia cannot equal. There is a ṭirāz factory of the sultan in it, and much is exported thence to various districts. The sūsandjird of Fasā is better than the sūsandjird of Ḳurḳūb, because the base (or material matāʿ) is of wool, and the Ḳurḳūbī is of ibrīsm-silk and wool, wool being stronger (aḥkam) for use in manufacture.[10]

More passages on this sūsandjird, a stuff which has already been the subject of a separate work by a well-known orientalist,[11] might be quoted. Masʿūdī [12] told a seemingly apocryphal story about a patrician of Constantinople in Muʿāwiya's time, who asked a Tyrian preparing to return to Damascus to buy for him some "sūsandjird carpets (bisāṭ) along with cushions

[10] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna. . . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), II, 212.

[11] J. von Karabacek, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird.* (Leipzig, 1881). This work, however, does not throw much illumination on the subject.

[12] Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), VIII, 80.

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(mikhadda) and pillows (wasīda) of the same material, containing the colors red, blue, etc., and that it should be of such and such a description." The sūsandjird carpet of Mustanṣir's time has already been discussed in the first chapter. It is quite possible that the stuff sūsandjird did exist under that name in Mu'āwiya's time, though the story itself is unreliable. The *Aghānī* [13] gives a very early date for the existence of this stuff:

I entered the presence of al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabī' when he was sitting on a large sūsandjird carpet (bisāṭ) of satin (satīnī), embroidered with gold (mudhahhab) and glistening, upon which there was written "mimmā amara bi-ṣanā'atihi Ḥammād 'Adjrad" ("What Ḥammād 'Adjrad ordered to be made"). He (the vizier) said to me: "Do you know who Ḥammād 'Adjrad was?" I said: "No." "Ḥammād 'Adjrad was the governor of that district," he replied, and fell silent.

This vizier was Harun al-Rashid's chief minister during the latter half of the second century of the Hijra.

During the Buwaihid period, the decline of the caliphate had become so complete that the sultan had arrogated the use of the ṭirāz to his own person. As has been seen, in Baghdad, the ṭirāz became an appanage of the Buwaihid palaces, and later of the Seljuk rulers. The Muslim authors have a great deal to say about the ṭirāz cities of Fars, which fall into two main groups, the western group situated on, or near the coast, comprising Sīnīz, Djannābā, Tawwadj, Kāzirūn, and Ghundidjān, as opposed to the eastern inland group of Djahram, Tārum, and Fasā.

Ibn al-Faḳīh [14] (290 H. [903 A.D.]) numbered Kazeruni garments among the products of Fars, while Iṣṭakhrī [15] took care to mention that it did not have a ṭirāz, but added: "Now as regards the people of Kazerun and Fasā, etc., they are traders, and I have never known any city, by land or sea where there were people of Fars, but they were the notables of that city."

Maḳdisī [16] considered it so prominent a place that he said: "Kazerun is thickly populated and large. It is the Damietta of the Persians, and that is because the linen garments which are of the same make as ḳaṣab, resembling the Shaṭawī (from Shaṭā, in the Tinnīs-Damietta group), even if they are of cotton ('uṭb), are made and sold there, with the exception of what is made in Tawwadj." He further said: "From Kazerun garments of ḳaṣab come, and the same from Tawwaz, Darīz, and those districts, as well as Dabīḳī, and napkins with a velvety surface (manādīl mukhmala), which are carried to the eight quarters of the world, but there is a great difference between them and the Shaṭawī type."

[13] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. (Cairo, 1927–36), V, 371. Since the above passage was written I have found in Ṭabarī, (*op. cit.*, III, I, 416) another extract which tells us that the Abbasid, Manṣūr, deposed a governor of a district in Syria, among whose effects a prayer carpet (muṣallā) of sūsandjird was found in the year 158 H. (774–75 A.D.).

[14] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 254.

[15] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[16] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, pp. 433–34 and 442–43. Yellow garments of ḳaṣab are mentioned by Tanūkhī (*Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara, Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth, text, p. 146), in al-Rāḍī's wardrobe.

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It is Ibn al-Balkhī, however, who has the fullest account of the manufactures there:

The cloths called Tūzī (Tawwazī), which they make there are woven from the fiber of the flax plant. Of this, first they tie up the fibrous stalks in bundles and throw them into a tank full of water, leaving the fiber being separated out, and the flax is then spun into linen thread. Next, this linen is washed in the water of the Rāhbān water channel, and though the water is but scanty, it has the property of making white the linen thread that is washed in it, and if it be washed in any other water it never becomes so white. Now this Rāhbān water channel is the property of the royal treasury, and the custom is now established that the profit thereof belongs to the house of the emir, the treasury having granted the usage thereof to the weavers who weave cloths under the orders of the treasury. There is an inspector who oversees on behalf of the treasury, and there are the brokers who set a just price on the cloth, sealing the bales with a stamp before they are delivered over to the foreign merchants. In times past it was all after this wise. The brokers would make up the bales of the Kāzirūnī cloth, the foreign merchants would come and buy the bales as they stood thus made up, for they placed reliance on the brokers, and in any city to which they were carried the certificate of the Kāzirūnī broker was merely asked for and the bales would then be sold at a profit without being opened (for examination). Thus it would often happen that a load of Kāzirūnī bales would pass from hand to hand ten times over, unopened. But now, in these latter days, fraud has become rife, and the people becoming dishonest, all confidence is gone, for the goods with the treasury stamp are often found deficient, whereby foreign traders have come to avoid the merchandise of Kāzirūn. The fraud was especially common during the reign of the Emir Abū Sa'd, whose bad government and tyranny were manifest to all.[17]

This latter ruler was in Fars, at the end of the Buwaihid period from which time the custom of sealing the bales with the treasury stamp may date.

Yāḳūt [18] used the same source as Maḳdisī: "Bashshārī said . . . 'It is the Damietta of the Persians. That is because linen garments of the manufacture of ḳaṣab, resembling the Shaṭawī, even if they are cotton (ḥaṭb) are made and sold there, except that which is made in Tawwadj. . . . In it are many brokers and broad markets.' " Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī,[19] after the conquest, copying Ibn al-Balkhī stated: "Much cotton is produced here, and muslin stuffs of Kazerun are exported to all parts being of many kinds; some linen too is made. Most of these Kazerun stuffs, unless they be washed in the waters of the Rāhbān watercourse do not retain their freshness."

Between Kazerun and the seacoast lay Tawwadj, from which the Kazeruni textiles derived their name, if not indeed their original prototype according to the extract of Ibn al-

[17] Ibn al-Balkhī, "Description of the Province of Fars. . . . ," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.* Also as a separate volume in *Asiatic Soc. Monographs,* No. 14, 55–57. Cf. the passage on the preparation of flax from Ibn 'Awwām, cited in Chapter XXII.

[18] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), IV, 225. Cf. Ḳazwīnī in *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 162.

[19] Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 125.

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Balkhī. Djāḥiz [20] said: "From Fars come Sābirī linen garments of Tawwadj." This curious phrase may perhaps imply that in these places too Sasanian types of cloth were manufactured. The *Hudūd* [21] says that "all the tavazi (Tawwazī) textiles come from it." The contemporary Maḳdisī [22] remarked: "Tawwaz is small of size (rasm), but great in fame by reason of the garments of linen made in it. You must know that they are named Tawwazī, but most of them are made in Kazerun, but those are more skilled and better in workmanship." The list of precious stuffs of 'Aḍud al-Dawla's reign quoted by Tha'ālibī [23] includes the Tawwazī garments of Tawwadj.

Yāḳūt gave the fullest account of its manufactures:

> There are made in Tawwadj linen garments which are called after it. Now most of this type is manufactured at Kazerun, but the name Tawwadj is generally applied to it because the people of Tawwadj are more skilled in its manufacture. It is a fine cloth of light delicate weave (muhalhal al-nasadj), as if it were fine sieve-cloth (munkhal), but its colors are lovely, and it has golden ṭirāz borders, a piece being sold for a sum of money. The people of Khurasan used to seek after it, and a large export trade to them was carried on. Sometimes there is made an excellent close-woven kind which sells well. It is a small town but its fame is great.[24]

After the Mongol conquest Abu'-l Fidā' [25] mentioned the Tawwazī stuff of Tawwadj, quoting no authorities.

Next to Tawwadj, on the Persian Gulf was the city of Djannābā. The *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* [26] mentions "shirts (ḳamīṣ) of excellent linen, soft and pure of color, such as Dabīḳī and Djannābī." Ibn al-Faḳīh [27] cited Djannābī stuffs as one of the most famous products of Fars, and Ibn Ḥawḳal [28] said: "It is a town in which there are ṭirāz factories of linen of more than one kind, with abundant merchandise." The trade seems to have disappeared by the time of Ibn al-Balkhī,[29] who said: "Nothing that need be mentioned is produced in this place."

Sulaimān [30] the merchant, and Ibn al-Faḳīh [31] had both heard of the Sīnīzī stuffs too, classing them along with those of Djannābā. Mas'ūdī [32] knew of Sīnīz where the "Sīnīzī ṭirāzī garments were made, and the town of Djannābā after which the Djannābī garments

[20] Djāḥiz, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[21] *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 127.

[22] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

[23] Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[24] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 890.

[25] *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Arabic text by M. Reinaud and M. Le Bon MacGuckin de Slane (Paris 1840), p. 328, trans. by M. Reinaud (Paris, 1847–83), II, 96.

[26] Al-washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 124. See also G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymân* (Paris, 1922), p. 26, for a reference dated 237 H. (851 A.D.).

[27] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 254. The text has djubbā'īya which is evidently wrong. Cf. Idrīsī, *Geographie*, trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 399, where Nadjāba must become Djannāba.

[28] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[29] Ibn al-Balkhī, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[30] Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[31] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

[32] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, I, 238.

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were named." Miskawaihī [33] mentioned "a shirt (ḳamīṣ) of Sīnīzī manufacture" about the year 324 H. (935 A.D.), and brief notices are to be found in other authors besides those already mentioned. Ibn Ḥawḳal [34] said: "From Sīnīz comes the Sīnīzī which is carried to all lands."

Maḳdisī suggested an Egyptian influence on this group: "From Sīnīz come garments resembling ḳaṣab; sometimes the flax (kattān) is brought to them from Egypt, but most of what is made nowadays is grown there." [35] Ibn al-Balkhī [36] said: "They weave linen cloths here which are very thick and soft, and those are known as Shīnīzī stuffs. They do not however wear very well." The very incorrect translation of Idrīsī [37] said:

> They make tissues of linen here know as Sinisi cloths and are estimated as much for their solidity as for their fineness; these cloths have the peculiarity that when they are placed in contact with other cloths, they do not adhere to them as is ordinarily the case with tissues of linen.

Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī,[38] after the Mongol conquest, copying Ibn al-Balkhī said: "Linen is produced, but the linen here has no wear in it."

In addition to the notices on Djahram already quoted, Ibn Ḥawḳal [39] mentioned: "To it is attributed the Djahramī type of carpet (busuṭ) manufactured there, and more than one ṭirāz factory belonging to the sultan and merchants is to be found there." This short passage makes it apparent that the ṭirāz factory textiles were not the exclusive property of the sultan. According to the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam:* "Zīlū-rugs and good prayer-carpets" [40] were produced. Maḳdisī [41] remarked that "from Djahram come carpets (busuṭ), curtains (sutūr), and perfectly woven carpets (anmāṭ muḥkama)." Ibn al-Balkhī [42] wrote that "much cotton is grown which is also exported. Muslin (kirbās), too, comes from here and the Djahramī blankets (zīlū) are woven in this town." Yāḳūt [43] knew of its fame for the manufacture of carpets (busuṭ), quoting Ru'ba ibn al-'Adjdjādj (who lived from the latter half of the first century of the Hijra into the first half of the second): "Nay many a town the dust of which fills wide roads, whose cotton and Djahram (stuff) are not to be bought." Mustawfī [44] laconically remarked that it grows cotton. Yāḳūt merely quoted Iṣṭakhrī concerning Ghundidjān, and Mustawfī [45] said: "The people here are for the most part shoemakers and weavers."

Djāḥiz's note on the value of the Fasā garments has already been quoted, and Ibn al-Faḳīh [46] spoke of the robes (aksiya) of this town. To the accounts of Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn

[33] Miskawaihī, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate,* ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–21), text, I, 347, trans., IV, 391.

[34] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum,* ed. J. H. Kramers (2d ed.; Leyden, 1938–39), p. 49. Cf. *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 126.

[35] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 442.

[36] Ibn al-Balkhī, *op. cit.,* p. 63.

[37] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* I, 399. This translation is unreliable.

[38] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op cit.,* p. 130.

[39] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 184.

[40] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 129.

[41] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 442.

[42] Ibn al-Balkhī, *op. cit.,* p. 34.

[43] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* II, 167. Cf. Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* (Beirut, 1286 H. [1869–70 A.D.]), I, 117, 308; and W. Wright, *Arabic Grammar* (3d ed.; Cambridge, 1933), II, 217.

[44] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.,* p. 124.

[45] *Ibid.,* p. 128. Cf. Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* III, 820.

[46] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.,* p. 254.

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Ḥawḳal, Maḳdisī [47] added:

From Fasā garments of ḳazz-silk, fine and beautiful robes (aksiya), carpets (anmāṭ), carpets (busuṭ), napkins (fūṭa), munaiyar (stuff with a double woof or weft) like that of Isfahan, washī figured stuff, octagonal patterned curtains (sutūr muthammana), valuable upholstery (furūsh), ibrīsmī-silk curtains (sutūr), 'uṣfur-dye (yellow), tables (mā'ida), tents (kharkāhāt), and napkins (mindīl) of Sharābīya.[48]

These latter Sharābī (linen) napkins were of the same type doubtless as those made in Tinnīs-Damietta. This is the second textile found manufactured in both groups (the first being ḳaṣab). Many stuffs in the Fatimid treasuries from Fars and Khuzistan are mentioned by Maḳrīzī.[49]

Iṣṭakhrī's account of the ṭirāz factory at Tārum can be supplemented by a short note from Djāḥiz who wrote that ḳirmiz dye is found there, it being one of the few places in Persia proper where this was to be had.[50] Maḳdisī [51] mentioned its large fans (mirwaḥ), and Yāḳūt [52] said that it produces robes (aksiya) of khazz-silk which fetch a great deal of money.

A curious account of the founding of a city, and the establishment of a ṭirāz in it, perhaps typical of the same process throughout the Islamic world, is described by Maḳdisī:

Kurd Fannākhusrū. Fannākhusrū is 'Aḍud al-Dawla who laid the foundations of a town half a parasang away from Shiraz, and dug a great canal leading to it. . . . and transported to it workers in wool (ṣawwāf), makers of (ṣunnā') khazz-silk and brocade. Every camelot mantle (barrakān) as you know, made there today, has its name written on it.[53]

He mentioned that it is nearly ruined now (375 H. [985 A.D.]).[54]

CITIES WITHOUT A ṬIRĀZ

The other manufacturing cities in Fars will be considered briefly. In the north of the province is Yezd, and as seen above, Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal mention its cotton garments, in passing, only. Perhaps it only came into prominence in the fourth century and later, for there is little information about it before Ibn al-Balkhī (500 H. [1107 A.D.]): "In the districts round, silk is produced, for the mulberry tree here is abundant. Further, they manufacture excellent cloths in brocade also, of the kind named mushṭī, farakh,[55] and the like, for in

[47] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

[48] See Chapter XV.

[49] Such as Ḳurḳūbī, Tustarī, Djahramī. See Chapter XV.

[50] Djāḥiz, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

[51] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 442–43.

[52] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 811.

[53] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 431. Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 258, reads Kard Fannākhusrū.

[54] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 258., adds that it was founded in 354 H. (965 A.D.). By his day there was no trace of it. Cf. Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, II.

[55] Ibn al-Balkhī, *op. cit.*, p. 20. Le Strange added in a footnote that mushṭī is a stuff made in Nishapur. Mushṭ is a weaver's instrument apparently, a "comb," and the name doubtless came to be applied like the term "ḥaffī" to stuffs made in Nishapur.

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Yezd they rear goats only, no sheep, and the hair from these is very strong." [56] Ḳazwīnī found in it "makers of silk (ḥarīr) of sundus (a kind of green brocade), extremely beautiful and close-woven which is taken from it to all countries." [57]

In Mongol times, Marco Polo [58] noted: "It is a good and noble city, and it has a great amount of trade. They weave there quantities of a certain silk tissue known as Yasdi, which merchants carry into many quarters to dispose of." Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī [59] is a trifle less laconic than usual: "Cotton is grown . . . . also silk is produced. . . . The craftsmen of Yezd are excellent and honest workmen."

Pedro Teixeira during the period of Portuguese influence in south Persia said:

> In three parts of Persia are manufactured carpets which in Portuguese we call alcatifas and the Persians call Kalichey (kališa), the richest, the finest, and most estimated in Yezd, from which place I saw some, each of which, on account of its workmanship and perfection, was valued at more than a thousand ducats; and thus in speaking of the alcatifa (al-Ḳaṭīfa) of Yezd, which we corruptly call dodiaz, is understood the best, the finest, and the most perfect. The second-best are those from the kingdom of Kermon (Kerman), the third from Karason (Khurasan); they are also made in Agra, Bengala, and Cambaya,[60] but not fine ones.[61]

He also mentioned silk and rosewater.

Though it does not really enter the period covered by this work, the early nineteenth-century traveler Buckingham knew "carpets of a blue ground of the manufacture of Yezd in which Arabic inscriptions are wrought round the border in characters of white." [62]

Of Rūdhān, Maḳdisī wrote that "garments resembling the kind made at Bamm come from Rūdhān." [63] Yāḳūt added that "it is a mine of fullers and weavers (ḥāka)." It also produced saffron.[64]

Arradjān, in western Fars, is said to have been founded by the Sasanian king Kawādh I (496–531 A.D.), who settled prisoners of war there from Āmid, Diyārzakr, and Maiyāfāriḳīn. Maḳdisī [65] says that napkins (fūṭa), kundakī (coarse) garments, and Indian goods (barbahār) were its specialties. Idrīsī, however, added: "The district of Radjān also bears the name of the founder, who was Sābūr, and after whom they call the manufactures of the stuffs known as Sābūrīya." [66] This statement increases the difficulty of identifying stuff of this name. I think

[56] Le Strange suggested faradjī for farakh, but I think we should almost certainly read mar'azzā, "goat-hair" with Djāḥiz (*supra*). Ḳalḳashandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 347, said of Yezd: "To it is attributed Yazdī cloth (ḳumāsh)."

[57] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, II, 187.

[58] H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian* (London 1871), I, 89. Chapter V.

[59] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[60] See Appendix III.

[61] *The Travels of P. Teixeira with His "Kings of Harmuz" and Extracts from His "Kings of Persia,"* trans. and ann. by W. F. Sinclair and D. Ferguson (London, 1902), I, 243. This piece is extracted from the "Kings of Persia," but seems to refer to the Portuguese period. See C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature, A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (London, 1927–), II, 2, 359.

[62] J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia* (London, 1829), II, 31.

[63] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 442–43.

[64] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 830.

[65] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

[66] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 391.

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that Sābirī was the name applied to the materials which came from the ṭirāz factory at Bishāpūr, a city rarely mentioned in the sources which I have used. Ibn Ḥawḳal stated that "Sābūr is renowned for Sābūrī cloth (thiyāb)." [67] Already at the beginning of the sixth (twelfth) century Bishāpūr was a complete ruin, and it may even have been so when Tha'ālibī [68] wrote the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, because he is uncertain what these Sābirī stuffs are.

The village of Darīz, near Bishāpūr, said Maḳdisī,[69] had excellent markets and many workers in linen (kattān).

Iṣṭakhr had begun to decline from its prosperity in Sasanian times, when Shiraz was founded in 64 H. (684 A.D.). Iṣṭakhrī himself had little to say about its products: "In Djānāt, one of the villages of Iṣṭakhr, are fine pleasing garments known as al-abā ī of fine texture." [70] The earlier Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi had heard of "excellent black Iṣṭakhrī robes" [71] exported thence and included it in the list which contains many ṭirāz cities. It was practically destroyed by Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, toward the end of the Buwaihid rule.

Shiraz, according to Iṣṭakhrī,[72] had cloaks (abrād) which were taken to all quarters. Maḳdisī [73] said that it is famous for its cloaks (abrād) and robes (aksiya); and "from Shiraz, come the camelot robes (al-aksiya al-barrakānāt) to be found nowhere else, the munaiyar stuffs (with a double woof or weft) unrivaled for wear despite their fineness and loveliness, and the excellent cloaks (abrād), besides which, khazz-silk, brocade, ḳaṣab, and striped cloaks (ḥulla) are made there." [74] Again, he repeats [75] that the camelots and munaiyar stuffs have no peer.

As the city was only founded after the conquest, all the manufactures of Shiraz must have been introduced there in Muslim times. It seems feasible to suppose that those manufactures were introduced from the various cities in which they originally flourished. Perhaps the munaiyar stuffs were introduced from Rayy, the ḳaṣab stuffs from Fars-Khuzistan, and the brocade from one of the districts planted with Greek prisoners by the Sasanian kings.

Ḳazwīnī wrote (674 H. [1275 A.D.]) that "its people are skilled in the manufacture of garments of silk (ḥarīr) and fine head-cloths (wiḳāya [76])." [77] Mustawfī [78] said that in Shiraz all trades may be followed, suggesting its continued prosperity after the Mongols. Cotton is grown around it.

Kavār, according to Ibn al-Balkhī,[79] made muslin (kirbās).

[67] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

[68] Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Cf. Chapter III.

[69] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

[70] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 155. Cf. Tabriz in Chapter VI for this stuff.

[71] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 267.

[72] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[73] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 442.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 443.

[76] Cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927); and *idem, Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845). He quoted Ibn al-Sikkīt for such a headcloth made of brocade, and also an inscribed one from *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*.

[77] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, II, 140.

[78] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–14.

[79] Ibn al-Balkhī, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

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Dārābdjird was rather an important city. In the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* [80] long gowns (durrā'a) of Dārābdjird worn by the fashionable are mentioned. Iṣṭakhrī added: "From Dārābdjird is brought stuff similar to the Ṭabarī manufacture which is in Ṭabaristān." [81] Ibn Ḥawḳal confirmed this: "From Dārābdjird cloth (thiyāb) for upholstery like Ṭabarī is brought which is considered beautiful." [82] Apparently, the influence of the south Caspian group extended even here to south Persia. Maḳdisī is more prolix: "From Dārābdjird come all valuable kinds of costly robes, those of middling value, and cheap kinds, as well as the kind which resembles the Ṭabaristānī cloth, and the mats (ḥuṣur) like the 'Abbadānī kind, excellent carpets (busuṭ) and curtains (sutūr) of sūsandjird." [83] According to Iṣṭakhrī, it was also noted for its "black inks and dyes (ṣibgh) which were preferable to all others." [84]

The little village of Kardabān may have been the source of the coarse blue (kuḥailī) Kardawānī stuff which Miskawaihī [85] mentioned, about the year 326 H. (937 A.D.). Maḳrīzī [86] too heard of these cloths in the Fatimid treasuries, mentioning a Kardawānī brocade, and part of a tent made of variegated Kardawānī (manḳūsh). If this is the case, here is yet another material which was imported from Fars to Egypt.

Furdj lay three marches to the southeast of Dārābdjird, and Maḳdisī recorded that "from Furdj come the garments, carpets (busuṭ), curtains (sutūr), and linen (kattān)." [87]

Djuwaim of Abu Ahmed (the modern Djuyūm) according to Ibn al-Balkhī [88] made muslin (kirbās).

Rīshahr, near the modern Bushire, was one of the ports for Fars. Ibn al-Balkhī said: "The people are almost entirely occupied with sea trade, but Rīshahrī flax is to be come by in this place." [89] Mustawfī wrote (probably copying Ibn al-Balkhī) that "the Rīshahr linen is famous. Most of the inhabitants are engaged in the sea trade but they excel in nothing." [90]

Sīrāf was another important port, and Maḳdisī [91] spoke of its napkins (fūṭa) and linen loin cloths (izārs). It was a very notable city, but for reasons of space its various activities cannot be discussed here. It was the center for the dissemination of Indian wares in Persia. The following list of textile centers is given by Mustawfī [92] under the rule of the Īlkhāns:

Abarḳūh .....grows cotton	Djuwaim .....grows cotton
Bishāvūr .....produces silk	Kāzirūn .....makes cotton and muslin
Zarkān .....grows cotton	Ghundidjān .....has weavers
Djahram .....grows cotton	Rīshahr .....produces linen
Lār .....grows cotton	Sīnīz .....produces linen

[80] Al-Washshā', *op. cit.*, p. 124. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, and *idem, Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements*, for durrā'a.

[81] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[82] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

[83] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 442–43.

[84] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[85] Miskawaihī, *op. cit.*, text, I, 387, trans., IV, 437.

[86] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1853), I, 418. See Chapter XV.

[87] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

[88] Ibn al-Balkhī, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[90] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, 129.

[91] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, pp. 442–43.

[92] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 126, 137, 138. Cf. Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *Scheref Nameh ou Fastes de la Nation Kourde*, trans. by F. B. Charmoy (St. Petersburg, 1868–75), I, 122.

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Fars stuffs were also made as far away as Transoxiana, for Maḳdisī said that Sīnīzī cloth was made in Samarkand, and Narshakhī mentioned Yazdī textiles made in the ṭirāz factory of Bukhara, which might go to show how the state factories aided the spread of cultural influences. Hamadhānī noted a napkin (mandīl) of the weave of Djurdjān, and the manufacture of Arradjān.[93]

[93] See Chapters VII and X.

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CHAPTER VI

THE ARMENIAN-CASPIAN GROUP

AROUND THE BLACK SEA AND THE CASPIAN THERE LIES A GROUP OF PROVINCES OF INDETERminate area and frontiers, such as Jazira, Armenia, Arrān, Azerbaijan, and Shirvan. These districts are of great importance to us because it was thence that the Sasanian kings brought the prisoners whom they settled in south Persia and Iraq, and perhaps other places as well. These provinces were, in the main, Christian, and Strzygowski [1] has demonstrated the spread of new influences in architecture westward from this very area into the Western world. The same seems to have been true of the fabrics of this Armenian group, as I shall conveniently designate it, though it includes many districts which are, properly speaking, Iranian. This area sent its exports to all Islamic countries, and very likely, too, its weavers, dyers, and embroiderers (Map 2; see also Map 2 of Chapter III).

The earliest sources mention the Armenian and Rūmī (Byzantine) stuffs. In the reign of Rashid (170–93 H. [786–809 A.D.]), the *Aghānī* [2] speaks of a carpet (zarbīya) or cushion of Armenian material. Djāḥiz (ob. 257 H. [869 A.D.]) stated:

The best and most expensive drapery (farsh) is the crimson Armenian goathair kind with a double woof (al-mar'azzā al-ḳirmizī al-Armanī al-munaiyar), then the striped silk (al-khazz al-raḳm), then the brocade of the Khusrawānī (Sasanian or royal) Byzantine (Rūmī) manufacture, then the khazz-silk brocaded like Maisānī, then buzyūn-silk (a kind of brocade); whatsoever of those varieties is woven with gold is finer and fetches a higher price. All those kinds are sometimes woven with gold, except the Armenian and Maisānī, and buzyūn-silk.[3]

Again,[4] he said: "From Armenia and Azerbaijan come felts (lubūd), lacuna, cushions (or horse-cloths barādhi'), upholstery (farsh), fine carpets (busuṭ), trouserbands (tikka), and wool (ṣūf)." It might be worth mentioning that Djāḥiz paid more attention to Armenia and the areas under its cultural influence, Ṭabaristān and Fars-Khuzistan, than to any other group. In later times less attention was paid by writers to the Armenian group, and it seems to have become less important.

In the account of the revenues of the reign of Ma'mūn, which Ibn Khaldūn has extracted from the *Djirāb al-Dawla,* the following items are attributed to the Armenian group:

Ṭabaristān, Ruyān, and Nehavend	600 pieces (ḳiṭ'a) of Ṭabarī carpets (fursh)
	200 robes (aksiya)
	500 garments (thiyāb)
	300 napkins (mandīl)
	300 cups (djāmāt)
Gilan	20 robes
Armenia	20 large carpets in relief (busuṭ maḥfūra)

[1] J. Strzygowski, *The Origin of Christian Church Art* (Oxford, 1923).

[2] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–36), VI, 181.

[3] Djāḥiz, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 336–37.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 348.

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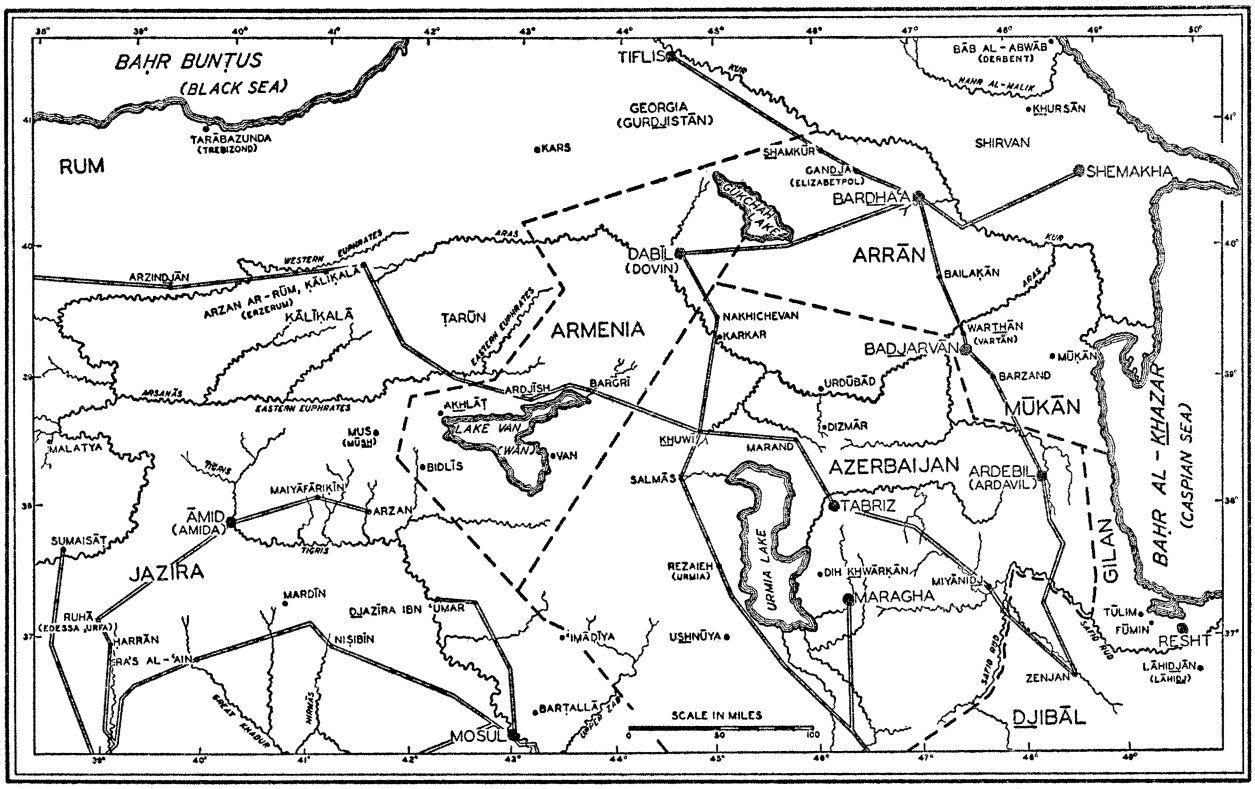
Again, we can compare this with the items which Tha'ālibī [5] enumerated as being sent to the (Buwaihid) sultans. To the court of the sultan there were taken every year, with the land-tax (kharādj), thirteen million dirhams, and thirty large carpets (bisāṭ) "in relief" (maḥfūra), and five hundred pieces (ḳiṭ'a) of striped silk (al-raḳm), as well as thirty falcons.

Mas'ūdī [6] related that Khaizurān, the wife of al-Mahdī (158–69 H. [775–85 A.D.]) had large Armenian carpets (bisāṭ), and cushions (numruḳ). The historian Ṭabarī,[7] in the year



MAP 2.—JAZIRA, ARMENIA, ARRĀN, AZERBAIJAN, AND SHIRVAN

170 H. [786 A.D.], mentioned an Armīnīya, some kind of carpet. The Caliph Amīn too had Armenian cushions (mirfaḳa).

The precise value of the famous Armenian trouserbands is given by Tanūkhī:[8] "When Abū Yūsuf died, he left in his wardrobe two hundred pairs of khazz-silk pantaloons (sarāwīl)

[5] Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 428.

[6] Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), VI, 234 and 433.

[7] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), ser. III, I, 602. Baiḥaḳī (M. b. al-Husain Abu 'l-Faḍl) in the Tārīkh-i Baiḥaḳ (Teheran, 1307 H. [1889–90 A.D.]), p. 30, spoke of Maḥfūrī pieces of carpet at the court in the reign of al-Ma'mun. A marginal note to this edition adds: "Maḥfūr is the name of a town on the coast of the Mediterranean where felts (anmāt), carpets (busuṭ), and good upholstery (farsh) are woven."

[8] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara, Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth, Oriental Trans. Fund (London, 1921), text p. 125, trans. p. 137.

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of different sorts, each with its own band (tikka) of Armanī worth a dinar." These trouser-bands figure frequently in contemporary authors, and the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* [9] makes an allusion to Armenian fabrics embroidered in colors (al-manḳūsha al-Armanīya). The earlier *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim* [10] speaks of Armenian carpets (miṭraḥ) as one the things totally lacking in Isfahan.

These Armenian stuffs do not seem to have been so highly esteemed as were the products of the Egyptian ṭirāz factories; however, to judge from the following passage in the continuation of the *Annals* of Ṭabarī, which discusses the fraudulent purchase of effects from the estate of al-Muwaffaḳ in the year 311 H. (923 A.D.):

The vizier al-Muḥassin deceived the caliph therein, and took most for himself. The pieces of red Dabīḳī stuff (al-shiḳaḳ al-Dabīḳīya al-shuḳairīyāt), the lowest price of each of which was seventy dinars, were stuffed into Armenian cushions (makhādd Armīnīya) and pillows (miswar) and sold, being bought by al-Muḥassin, just as if the stuffing were of wool. He did the same with the precious ḳaṣab, and the Rashīdī [11] and the mulḥam (a stuff with a warp of silk, but a woof of some other material) called Shu'aibī, and the Nishapur mulḥam.[12]

Iṣṭakhrī,[13] with a bias for Persia, claimed that the carpets (busuṭ), curtains (sutūr), and cushions of Ghundidjān surpassed those of Armenia. Ibn Ḥawḳal [14] stated that a certain governor of Armenia sent, along with the annual tax, a hundred garments of Rūmī (Byzantine)

[9] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 125. As the editor was only able to avail himself of a single MS the text is very dubious in places. For the reading here:

التكك الخزّيّة والمطارف القطنيّة والمنقوشة الأرمنيّة

I suggest we read as on p. 127:

التكك الخزّيّة المُطرَفة القطنيّة . . .

This makes the passage refer to Armenian trouser cords.

[10] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 36. Cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje. *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (= *B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1885), V, 235.

[11] It seems likely that this name refers to the stuffs after the fashion invented by Caliph Rashid, or possibly, containing a ṭirāz border with his name. This was the case with Mutawakkilī stuffs. It might refer to the measure for cloth invented by Rashid, mentioned in Chapter II. Another possibility suggested by M. J. de Goeje (glossary to Ṭabarī), is that these materials came from the town of Rashīd (Rosetta) in the Delta. The objection to the first suggestion is that the date of this incident is much later, and that the name occurs in several different authors. Ṭabarī (*op. cit.*, III, II, 753) wrote that Rashid has an "izār Rashīdī" wide of borders ('alam), of a deep red dye (shadīd al-taḍrīdj) circa 153 H. (770 A.D.). In the same place he mentioned that seven cloaks (ghilāla) of Rashīdī ḳaṣab of women's cut were brought in. They seem in fact to have been particularly popular among women, for al-Washshā' (*op. cit.*, p. 94) discussing the singing girls who seek to extract money from the jeunesse dorée of Baghdad, said: "When she knows that he is drowned in the pangs of love, she begins to seek costly presents, and desires Aden garments, izārs of Nishapur, pieces of Andjādjī cloth, Rashīdī cloaks, Sūsī turbans, ibrīsm-silk trousercords," etc. See Appendix I.

[12] 'Arīb, *Ṭabarī continuatus*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1897), p. 116. Al-Muṭarrizī (Nāṣir b. 'Abd al-Saiyid) said: "Mulḥam cloth is the kind of which the warp (sadā) is ibrīsm-silk, and the woof (luḥma) of which is not ibrīsm-silk." (Al-Mughrib fī Tartīb al-Mu'rib (Hyderabad, 1328 H. [1910 A.D.], II, 168.) Reference supplied by M. Minovi. Al-Muṭarrizī was born about 538 H. (1143–4 A.D.).

[13] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum. . . .*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 152.

[14] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna. . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), II, 255.

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brocade. Maḳdisī [15] added: "From it were brought curtains (sutūr), valuable carpets (zullīya) with many properties" and [16] "their trouserbands (tikka), carpets in relief (maḥfūrīyāt), crimson (ḳirmiz), carpets (anmāṭ), and dyes (ṣibgh) have no equal."

The *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* [17] includes Armenian trouserbands (tikka), carpets (busuṭ), and large carpets (zullīya) of Ḳālīḳalā in a list of luxurious stuffs in the time of 'Aḍud al-Dawla. Minūčihrī,[18] the poet of the Seljuk period said: "Nawrūz (New Year) is the time of joy and happiness. The (rain) cloud clothes the plain with Armenian brocade." By this we must understand the poet to refer to the brilliant color of the fabric, and the flower embroideries thereon.

Armenia was in close touch with Byzantium, and successive writers, each one amplifying the account of the previous one, have noted these textiles imported from the Greeks. Mas'ūdī [19] remarked of Trebizond: "It has various markets in the year to which Muslims, Byzantines (Rūm), Armenians, etc., as well as people from the Caucuses, come to trade." Iṣṭaḵhrī [20] said: "They have a place of entry into Byzantium, known as Ṭarābazunda (Trebizond), where merchants assemble to enter the land of Rūm for the purpose of trading. All the brocade, buzyūn brocade, and garments of Rūm which come to these parts, are from Ṭarābazunda." To this, Ibn Ḥawḳal [21] added: "Most of the brocade, buzyūn-brocade, garments of Rūmī linen (kattān), woollen (ṣūf) garments, and Rūmī robes (aksiya) come from Ṭarābazunda. . . . and the cloth (ḳumāsh) going to it and coming from it is liable to a customs-duty of 10 per cent." [22] This shows that the traffic by no means merely went the one way.

The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* [23] lists Rūmī textiles: "It (Byzantium) produces in great quantities brocades, sundus-textiles (silk of a green color), Maisānī-textiles, carpets (ṭinfisa), stockings, and valuable trouser cords." Minūčihrī often referred to Rūmī sundus brocade along with Ḳurḳūbī stuffs. The articles which the *Ḥudūd* details are very curious and seem to correspond to the wares known as Armanī. One must, of course, remember again, in regard to the Maisānī stuffs, that Maisān falls within the area colonized with eastern Byzantine prisoners during the Sasanian era; though foreigners are not precisely mentioned as being planted there, yet the Maisānī wares resemble Armenian types. Doubtless the Muslims were vague as to the difference between the stuffs of Armenia proper and those imported from Byzantium. A further complication is that the name Rūmī was applied to the Ḳurḳūbī stuffs from south Persia.

[15] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1878; 2d ed. 1906), III, 374.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 380.

[17] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 132.

[18] A. de Biberstein Kazimirsky, *Menoutchehri, poète persan du 11ème siècle de notre ère* (Paris, 1886), text, p. 139.

[19] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.,* II, 3.

[20] Iṣṭaḵhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 188.

[21] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 245.

[22] *Op. cit.,* p. 132.

[23] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., xi, 156. For the Trebizond route see H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian* (London, 1871), I, 36.

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ARMENIA

Of this province, Ibn Ḥawḳal said:

In this country and the surrounding districts there are many articles of merchandise for export, as well as various things much sought after, such as riding animals, sheep, and cloth (thiyāb), which is imported, into every country and province being well known and renowned, and consisting of such articles as Armenian trouserbands (tikka), which are made at Salmās, a single one of which is sold at prices varying from one dinar to ten dinars, having no equal in the world, besides the above-mentioned Armanī (fabrics) made in Dabīl. There are made in Marand, Tabriz, Dabīl, and the districts of Armenia, Armenian cushions (maḳā'id) and carpets (ankhākh) known as Armanī maḥfūr (Armenian carpets with a raised pattern), with scarcely an equal in any place which possesses manufactures resembling these. Of a like nature are sabanīya (pieces of stuff for veils or handkerchiefs),[24] the cloths of red wool (miḳram), and the handkerchiefs manufactured in Maiyāfāriḳīn and in certain places in Armenia.[25]

Idrīsī [26] copied this passage and also mentioned the Armenian felts, which, however, Djāḥiz [27] in the second century of the Hijra, did not esteen so highly as the Chinese, Maghribī (African), or Ṭāliḳānī (from Khurāsān) felts.

In the Seljuk period the country was terribly devastated by that destructive Turkish race in the process of conquering the land, but many of the inhabitants migrated to Little Armenia and Cilicia about the latter half of the eleventh century of the Christian era. This may have been the great blow to the Armenian textile trade, and, in part, the cause of the rise to fame of the Turkish carpets of Asia Minor in the following centuries.

The capital of Armenia was Dabīl (Dovin [28]). Iṣṭakhrī [29] wrote:

There come from it cloths (thiyāb) of wool, consisting of carpets (busuṭ), pillows (wasīda), cushions (maḳā'id), trouserbands (tikka), and other kinds of Armenian (fabrics). They have a dye called ḳirmiz (qermes, "crimson") with which wool is dyed, and I have heard that it is a worm which spins round itself like the silk worm (dūda al-ḳazz). I have heard also that much buzyūn comes from it.

The corresponding passage in Ibn Ḥawḳal has:

[24] R. Dozy (*Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* [Amsterdam, 1854]) said that these stuffs come from a little village near Baghdad, but later, in the *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), he was less certain about their origin and thought that the word might be derived from the Greek σάβανον, which, in view of their being manufactured in this part of the world, is not unlikely. Yāḳūt (*Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld [Leipzig, 1866–73], III, 35) said: "Saban. Al-Ḥāzimī said: 'It is a place to which are ascribed the Sabanīya, a kind of garment which is made with linen (kattān) of the coarsest there is.'" He gave no indication of the whereabouts of this place. The word was also used later, in the Mameluke period.

[25] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

[26] Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), II, 326. He said that the Sabanī veils are dyed black, but the translation here is most unreliable.

[27] Djāḥiz, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

[28] Duwin and also Tovin.

[29] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

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From it come cloths (thiyāb) of goathair (mar'azz) and wool, consisting of carpets, pillows, cushions, trouserbands, and other kinds of Armanī-fabric, dyed with ḳirmiz. It is a red dye with which goat hair materials (mar'azz) are dyed, and wool. It originates from a worm which spins round itself like the silk worm when it spins silk round itself. From it much buzyūn-brocade is brought; there are many varieties similar to it in Byzantium, though it is itself exported. As for their famous green mantles for women (batt,[30]) cushions (maḳā'id), carpets (busuṭ), curtains (sutūr), strips of carpet (ankhākh), leather pillows (miswar), and couches (misnad), they have no peer in all the world in any way at all.[31]

The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* [32] says: "In it live numerous Christians. . . . It produces worms from which crimson dye is made, and good trouser cords." Maḳdisī [33] added: "From Dabīl come garments of wool, carpets, (busuṭ), pillows (wasīda), carpets (anmāṭ), and precious trouserbands.[34]. . . . Its wool is important." He noted that it was a fine place, though most of the population was Christian. Idrīsī [35] had little new to tell: "They make stuffs of cloth called mar'azz (goathair), carpets, felts, cushions, and various other objects which are superior to all that one can obtain of this most perfect kind."

Bidlīsī said: "It is a flourishing town of Armenia. The inhabitants make unparalleled carpets and the ḳirmiz there is of a very fine shade." [36]

So famous was this part of the world for its ḳirmiz dye that Balādhurī [37] mentioned a place, Azdisāṭ, near Dabīl which was called "ḳarya al-ḳirmiz" or the ḳirmiz-village. In the second century Djāḥiz [38] discussed this dye:

> They claim that ḳirmiz is a grass in the root of which there is a red worm. It grows in three places in the earth—in the Maghrib district, the land of Andalus, and in a district called Tārum (in Fars), and in the land of Fars. Nobody knows this grass and where it is to be found, except a sect of the Jews who have charge of collecting it every year in Māh Isfandārmudh (the twelfth month of the solar year). That worm is dried, and ibrīsm-silk and wool, etc., are dyed with it. The best-dyed is in certain places in the land of Wāsiṭ.[39]

This may throw some light on the curious statement of Ibn Rusta: "In Nahrawān are made the draperies (farsh) of which the Armenian stuff is manufactured, and then they are taken to Armenia and spun and woven there." [40] Perhaps the author referred to the thread which was dyed and then taken to Armenia to be made into the celebrated cloth. He may only be referring to the base upon which these carpets were woven. Of the ḳirmiz Ibn al-Faḳīh [41] said: "It is a red worm which appears in certain days of Rabī' (spring). It is collected and prepared (ṭabakha), and wool is dyed with it."

[30] Dozy, *op. cit., idem, Dictionnaire. . . . des vêtements,* after Ibn al-Sikkīt.

[31] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

[32] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 142.

[33] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 377.

[35] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, II, 325.

[36] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *Scheref Nameh ou Fastes de la Nation Kourde,* trans by F. Charmoy (St. Petersburg, 1868–75), I, 171.

[37] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 200.

[38] Djāḥiz, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

[39] See Chapter III.

[40] See Chapter III.

[41] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

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It is particularly interesting to notice that the Jews are credited with the monopoly of the manufacture of this dye, as I shall later discuss the prominence of Jews as dyers throughout the East during the Middle Ages. Perhaps they took the ḳirmiz to Spain, but this is speculation.

Yāḳūt [42] said of Lake Van (Wān): "At it carpets (busuṭ) are made." The Muslims had settled in this area by the ninth century.

Quite as famous in ancient times as Dabīl, was Ḳālīḳalā, the modern Erzerum. Though it was conquered in the first fifty years of Islamic dominion there is only a very meager fund of information concerning the manufactures of this city until Seljuk times. The silence of authors in regard to the manufactures of the city until the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* might seem to imply that little was made there during the early Muslim period, but this work does know of ḳālī-carpets in other Armenian centers and from where else could they derive their name but Ḳālīḳalā? Perhaps it first came into prominence during the Buwaihid supremacy at Baghdad, for these monarchs came from the Caspian provinces. Even Iṣṭaḵhrī merely included it among a number of small places of Armenia of trifling importance. However, Yāḳūt [43] said: "In Ḳālīḳalā there are made those carpets (busuṭ) named Ḳālī, the name (nisba) of which has been shortened to only part of it in speech, on account of euphony." Ḳazwīnī [44] also confined himself to generalities: "From it are exported the carpets (busuṭ), and the rugs (zullīya) which are called ḳālī. Its people have a skillful hand in manufacturing them. From Ḳālīḳalā they are taken to other countries. There are many Christians there."

An Armenian, Matthew of Edessa,[45] mentioned gold brocade stuffs taken at Ardzan by the Turks who conquered it in 498 H. (1049–50 A.D.), and that they were many because it was the capital of the Armenian kings. After the Seljuks conquered it, the few inhabitants left, migrated to the neighboring town of Ḳālīḳalā, which they called Arzan al-Rūm (Arzan of the Romans, i.e., Byzantines).

To the west of Erzerum is Arzinḏjān, and here too, there is little information until Seljuk times. Marco Polo [46] spoke of Arzinḏjān "at which they weave the best buckrams in the world." Ibn Baṭūṭa [47] said: "Arzinḏjān has well arranged markets. They make beautiful garments called after the town there." Yāḳūt [48] remarked that most of the inhabitants were Christian Armenians, but there were some Muslims.

It is perhaps here that Āmid (Diyārbakr) and Maiyāfāriḳīn should be considered. Ḏjāḥiz [49] noted that there come from Āmid, "cloths of watered silk (ṯiyāb muwaṯshā),

[42] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 895.

[43] *Ibid.*, IV, 20.

[44] Ḳazwīnī, *El-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 370.

[45] M. E. Dulaurier, *Récit de la première croisade, extrait de la Chronique de Matthieu d'Édesse* (Paris, 1850), p. 84.

[46] Yule, *op. cit.*, I, 47–48. Yule made a very learned attempt to identify buckram, which was not the coarse stiff cloth we know, but a fine stuff of silk or linen. Cf. barrakān, footnote to Chapter III.

[47] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), II, 294.

[48] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 205.

[49] Ḏjāḥiz, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

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kerchiefs (mandīl), and woollen hoods (ṭailasān)." Maḳdisī [50] has a brief but important note: "From Āmid come woollen garments (thiyāb al-ṣūf), and Rūmī (Roman) linen after the Sicilian manufacture (ʿalā ʿamal al-Ṣaḳalī)." Supposing the text to be correct, one finds here a material of a Byzantine kind similar to that made in Sicily, itself once in Byzantine hands.

In Maiyāfāriḳīn, according to Idrīsī [51] "they make cords which equal, if not surpass, in quality, those of Salmās, and further, napkins, goathair stuffs (mirʿizz [52]), and woollen veils (lin) called sabanīyāt (pieces of stuff for veils or handkerchiefs.)."

Marco Polo [53] added: "Near this province (Mosul) is another called Mus (Mūsh) and Mardīn, producing an immense quantity of cotton from which they make a great deal of buckram and other cloth. The people are craftsmen and traders and are all subject to the Tartar king."

Though, properly speaking, Āmid Maiyāfāriḳīn, and Mardīn lie in Jazira, yet culturally they form part of the Armenian unit. As discussed in a previous chapter, it was from those cities that the weavers were transported to south Persia by the Sasanians.

Just over the border, into Armenia again, is Bidlīs, of which the native Bidlīsī [54] related that during the caliphate of Omar II (in 98 H. [716 A.D.]) the prince of Bidlīs was forced to pay a hundred thousand dinars to the Muslims and to furnish a thousand pieces of stuff (aḳmisha), and European brocade (dībā-yi Ifrandj).

In Khuwī, Bargrī Ardjīdj, Akhlāṭ, Nakhchuvan, and Bidlīs, according to the *Ḥudūd*,[55] "large quantities of zīlū-carpets (zīlū-hā-yi-ḳālī), and trouser cords" are made. Some of these towns are in Azerbaijan, of which the *Ḥudūd* [56] reports: "It produces crimson (ḳirmiz), trouser cords (shalvārband), woollen stuffs, madder (rūdīna)."

Ardebil (Ardavil) was the Muslim capital of Azerbaijan. It is said to have been founded by the Sasanian monarch Fīrūz (457–84 A.D.). Iṣṭakhrī wrote: "From it are brought cloths (thiyāb) of wool, such as carpets (busuṭ), cushions (wasīda), pillows (maḳāʿid), trouser-bands (tikka) and other kinds of Armenian wares. They have a dye called ḳirmiz with which wool is dyed and I have heard that the worm of it weaves round itself like the silk worm (dūd al-ḳazz). I have heard too, that much buzyūn-brocade is brought from it." [57] The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* [58] remarks: "It produces striped stuffs (djāma-yi-burd) and stuffs of various colors (djāma-yi-rangīn)."

Kūrsara near Ardebil, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal,[59] had a trade in cloth (bazz) and rarities (barbahār).

Marand's eminence as a manufacturing center has been traced as far back as Ibn Ḥawḳal, but the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* [60] confines itself to the remark that "it produces various woollen

[50] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
[51] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, II, 152.
[52] Reading مراعز for Jaubert's عراض
[53] Yule, *op. cit.*, I, 62.
[54] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *op. cit.*, II, I, 207.
[55] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 143.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[57] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
[58] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 142.
[59] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
[60] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 143.

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stuffs." Mustawfī [61] said that it produces cotton: "In the plains to the south of Marand the ḳirmiz insect is found; this can only be obtained during a single week during the summer season, and if the insect be not taken then, it makes a hole (in the cocoon) and flies away."

According to LeStrange, Tabriz was a mere village in the third century H. (ninth century A.D.) when, in Mutawakkil's reign, a certain Ibn Rawād settled there, and he and his descendants built themselves palaces. There are no very early sources, but Yāḳūt [62] said: "There are made there abā'ī garments, siḳlāṭūn (scarlet), Khaṭā'ī (Chinese stuffs?), satin (atlas), and nasadj (woven stuff), which are carried to all countries, east and west." I suspect that one ought to read 'Attābī [63] for this Chinese stuff with Ḳazwīnī: "From it are brought 'Attābī garments, those of siḳlāṭūn, aṭlas-satin, and nasadj (woven stuff), to all quarters." [64]

Tabriz was one of the few towns to escape being destroyed in the Mongol cataclysm, and perhaps because of this it became the largest city in these parts under their rule. To judge from several passages which will be quoted, it must have been a center of state enterprise during the Īl-Khānid period.

Bar Hebraeus [65] reported that an ambassador from Ahmed the son of Hūlāgū (in the latter half of the thirteenth century), called Abd al-Rahman, was sent to Syria. He was liberally supplied with money from the Treasury, precious stones and apparel, and bales of stuff wherein much gold was woven: "He came to Tabriz and he sat there for about a month of days. He gathered together handicraftsmen of all kinds, jewellers, and sewers (weavers), and others and made everything to a royal pattern."

Bidlīsī [66] described how, in 693 H. (1293 A.D.), the (Mongol) emperor tried to introduce paper notes for money after the fashion of the Chinese. It was forbidden to place "the writing of inscriptions (raḳm-i-nusakh) in the weaving of stuffs of gold-brocades (zarbaft) except in the king's court (sarkar-i-pādshāh), and thus similarly the goldsmiths (zarkar) gold-wire-drawers (zarkash), and other sewers with gold thread (zardūz) had to give obedience to his command."

This ordinance must have sorely affected the Tabrīzīs as Marco Polo [67] found, a little before this:

The men of Tauris (Tabriz) get their living by trade and handicrafts, for they weave many kinds of beautiful and valuable stuffs of silk and gold. The city has such a good position that merchandise

[61] Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīni, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 89.

[62] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* I, 822.

[63] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.,* II, 227.

[64] According to 'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* E. M. Quatremère, *Notes et extraits de la Bibl. Nat.,* XIII (1838), 283, at Tabriz, "Hulagu étant mort, et son fils Abaqa étant monté sur le trône, les soldats du Kipčāk. . . . demandèrent et obtinrent la permission d' élever une manufacture (karkhāna) dans laquelle ils fabriqueraient des étoffes pour leur usage et celui du Sultan Bérékeh." War broke out and the ṭirāz was destroyed though probably rebuilt later. "La paix s'étant rétablie . . . . la manufacture fut remise sur pied et l'on régla que les sujets de Bérékeh tireraient de l' argent de leur pays, et fabriqueraient d' étoffes qu' ils jugeraient à propos."

[65] E. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus* (Oxford, 1932), trans., p. 468.

[66] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *op. cit.,* II, (1), 363, text, *op. cit.,* II, 15.

[67] Yule, *op. cit.,* I, 75.

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is brought thither from India, Baudas (Baghdad), Cremesor (Garmsīr, the area round the Persian Gulf), and many other regions; and that attracts many Latin merchants, especially Genoese, to buy goods and transact other business there; the more as it is also a great market for precious stones.

He found a great mixture of peoples there, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Georgians, and Persians.

The last notice is from the pen of Ibn Baṭūṭa,[68] who said the Kamḵhā was a silk stuff made at Baghdad, Tabriz, and Nishapur. This stuff though known before the conquest was never attributed to any of those towns and was perhaps a genuine Chinese stuff. One may surmise that the Mongols introduced the manufacture of this textile into those places. The textiles of Tabriz are also noted in the Mameluke court in a work entitled *Zubda Kashf al-Mamālik*,[69] where a Tabrīzī cloak (ḳabā') is mentioned.

ARRĀN

Bardha'a, the capital of Arrān, was captured as early as the reign of Othman and was rebuilt in the time of 'Abd al-Malik. The passages quoted below will show that it was never a great manufacturing center, though Maḳdisī called it the "Baghdad of the country." It seems, rather, to have produced raw materials, exported to countries farther south.

Iṣṭaḵhrī,[70] repeated by Ibn Ḥawḳal,[71] said: "A great deal of ibrīsm-silk, raised on the mulberry trees which are common, is exported from it. A large supply is dispatched thence to Fars and Khuzistan." Concisely, the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* adds: "Bardha'a produces silk and madder (rūnās)."[72] Maḳdisī[73] repeated the earlier authors: "From Bardha'a much ibrīsm-silk is brought," and "from Bardha'a come curtains (sutūr)," and "there is set up on the Sunday a market called al-Kurkī to which the inhabitants of the district and the neighboring country assemble, so that a man says 'Sunday' and Kurkī-day, 'Monday.' Ibrīsm-silk and garments are sold there." This market existed as early as the time of Iṣṭaḵhrī. Yāḳūt commented that 'a large amount of ibrīsm-silk is brought from it which originates from free mulberry-trees without any owner, dispatched thence to Fars and Khuzistan, in large quantities."[74]

After the decline of Bardha'a, Bailaḳān became the capital. According to the *Ḥudūd*[75] it produced "striped textiles (burd-hā), horse-rugs (djull), and veils (burḳa')." Moses of Khoren, an Armenian writer, mentions cotton there,[76] and so does Mustawfī.[77]

[68] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, II, 311. 'Attābī was made in these three cities, but kamḵhā is rarely noted before the Mongol conquest by any author. The name is to be found in Tha'ālibī's *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, and in Ṭabarī (*op. cit.*, III, II, 1169), where in the year 220 H. (835 A.D.), a poet speaks of the Zuṭṭs wearing kamḵhān of China. Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ* [Bulaq, 1853], I, 473) in 518 H. (1124 A.D.) spoke of barques ornamented with Dabīḳī awnings and kawāmikh (plural of kamḵhā?).

[69] *Zoubdat Kachf el-Mamâlik. . . .*, by Khalîl ed-Dâhiry, text by P. Ravaisse (Paris, 1894), p. 109.

[70] Iṣṭaḵhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[71] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[72] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 143.

[73] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

[74] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 559.

[75] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 144.

[76] H. Thopdschian, "Die inneren Zustände Armeniens unter Ashot, I," *Mitteil. d. Seminars f. Orient Sprachen in Berlin*, II (1904), 142–52, an excellent article.

[77] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

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Little is known of Gandja (Elizabetpol) and Shamkūr, but again, according to the *Ḥudūd*: "Both produce woollen stuffs of all kinds." [78] The Samanids used to present their Turkish slaves, when they had reached the rank of withāḳ-bāshī with Gandjī clothing, so presumably it was no cheap material. Ḳabān, near Urdūbād, according to the *Ḥudūd* "had much cotton of good quality." [79]

SHIRVAN PROVINCE

In Shirvan province, the most important city was Bāb al-Abwāb (Derbent). It had been held at various times by both Romans and Sasanians, though the latter held it previous to the Muslim conquest. Iṣṭakhrī said: "Linen (kattān) cloth is found there. In all Arrān, Armenia, and Azerbaijan there is no linen except here." [80] Ibn Ḥawḳal noted "linen garments such as (the kind which are called) Abdān." [81] The *Ḥudūd* [82] too, mentions linen and saffron like the others. Yāḳūt [83] wrote of "business" (shughl) in linen there, and Abu 'l-Fidā', [84] quoted Ibn Ḥawḳal as saying that all the linen garments in Djurdjān, Dailam, and Ṭabaristān are imported through Derbent. Perhaps these came from Byzantium, though Usāma ibn Munḳidh [85] told how his father sent Egyptian apparel (kiswa al-Miṣr) to the Armenian lords in Lesser Armenia in exchange for the famous Armenian falcons. This Egyptian apparel was most likely linen, though it might have been wool.

Khursān, which, according to the *Ḥudūd* [86] lay between Derbent and Shirvan, "produced woollen stuffs, and all the different kinds of carpets with a relief pattern (maḥfūrī) which are found in the world are from Shirvan, Khursān, and Derbent."

This part of the Armenian group was famous for another dye, the madder dye, which is mentioned by all the geographers with more or less detail. Iṣṭakhrī [87] said: "From Bardha'a is brought this madder (fuwwa), which is imported into the land of India and all places." Ibn Ḥawḳal repeated:

> In the districts of Warthān, Bardha'a, and Bāb al-Abwāb, and the island which is in the middle of the Caspian Sea (Buḥaira al-Khazar) there is madder which is carried by the Caspian Sea to Djurdjān and taken to the land of India by land. This madder is found in all the land of Arrān from the extremities of Bāb al-Abwāb to Tiflis, and from near Nahr al-Rūs (the Volga) to the districts of Djurdjān.[88]

[78] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 144. C. Schefer, "Siasset Namèh, Traité de gouvernement, ... par Nizam oul-Moulk," *Publ. école des langues orientales vivantes,* sér. III, VIII (Paris, 1891–93), text, p. 95, trans., pp. 139–40.

[79] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 143.

[80] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 184.

[81] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 242. Cf. Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* II, 322.

[82] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 145. Cf. Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 380.

[83] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* I, 437–38.

[84] *Géographie d'Aboulféda,* text by M. Reinaud and M. Le Bon MacGuckin de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 390, trans. by M. Reinaud (Paris, 1847–83), II, 144.

[85] *Usamah's Memoirs Entitled Kitab al-I'tibar,* ed. P. K. Hitti (Princeton, 1930), p. 202. *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman . . . . Memoirs of Usamah ibn Munqidh,* trans. by P. K. Hitti (New York, 1929), p. 231.

[86] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 145.

[87] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 190.

[88] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 190.

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He also noted [89] "an island opposite the (river) Kurr known as Djazīra al-Bāb . . . . madder (fuwwa) is brought from it." The *Ḥudūd* [90] says that this island of Djazīra al-Bāb "produces madder exported to all the world and used by dyers."

GILAN

Another tiny province of this region was Gilan. The *Ḥudūd* gives a general list of its products: "The province of Gilan is prosperous, favored by nature, and wealthy. . . . From Gilan come brooms, reed mats (ḥaṣīr), prayer-mats (muṣalla-namāz), and mahā-fish which are exported everywhere." [91] Ḳazwīnī [92] related: "They rear the silk-worm (dūd al-ibrīsm). The work of the men is riziculture, and the work of the women, the raising of the silk worm (dūd al-ḳazz). . . . Their women weave waist cloths (or shirts, mi'zar [93]) and strange fine women's belts (mishaddāt) which are taken to all countries." Marco Polo [94] said that it is from the country of the Sea of Ghelan that the silk called Ghellé is brought.

Resht was the capital of the province, but there is no information as to any manufactures there other than a verse of Minūčihrī [95] who said: "From the tulips and violets, all the mountain-tops and desert-plains have become red and white like the brocades of Resht." Barthold thought that industry in this region belonged to a period later than the tenth century, and there is a remarkable paucity of evidence from literary sources of this time, but this must not be too severely stressed.

Of Lāhidj, Yāḳūt remarked: "From it is imported the Lāhidjī ibrīsm-silk, but it is not of the first rank." [96] Abu 'l-Fidā' [97] noted that "Lāhidjān exports a celebrated silk (ḥarīr) to other countries."

For Dailamān province, the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* [98] gives the following list: "This province produces silk textiles (djāma-yi-ibrīshum), of one color, or of (several) colors (yak-rang va bā rang), e.g., mubram (twisted silk), silk (ḥarīr), and the like as well as great quantities of linen cloths." As described by Maḳdisī: "This is the province of khazz-silk and wool. There are many skilled craftsmen in it." [99] The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* intends a larger district than Dailam proper, including Ṭabaristān, Gilan, Djurdjān, and Ḳūmis. After the conquest, Mustawfī [100] gave the following list of products of the country: "Tūlim, cotton, Resht, cotton and silk, Fūmin, cotton and silk."

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

[90] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 60. Cf. Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* pp. 362 and 372; Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* II, 330 and 335; M. A. F. Mehren, *Manuel de la cosmographie du moyen age* (Copenhagen, 1874), p. 194.
Ṭihrānī (Teheran, 1352 H. [1933 A.D.]), p. 88.

[91] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 137, text ed. Djalāl al-Dīn

[92] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.,* II, 237.

[93] Dozy, *Dictionnaire . . . . des vêtements,* and *idem, Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes,* gives the meanings also of "drawers" and "a piece of stuff rolled round the turban," etc.

[94] Yule, *op. cit.,* I, 54.

[95] Kazimirsky, *op. cit.,* p. 285. I understand Resht in Gilan, not the district in Khurasan.

[96] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* IV, 344.

[97] *Géographie d' Aboulféda.* texte arabe, p. 429. Cf. Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.,* p. 159.

[98] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 133.

[99] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 353.

[100] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.,* p. 159. Cf. 'Umarī, *op. cit.,* pp. 294 and 298.

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MŪḴĀN

Concerning Mūḳān province, north of Gilan, the *Ḥudūd* [101] says: "From Mūḳān come madder (rūdhīna), sacks (djuvāl), and palas rugs in great numbers." The capital, Barzand, was, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, a large town, and Maḳdisī mentioned its bazaars, but again the *Ḥudūd* alone is able to tell us that it produced "ḳaṭīfa-textiles." [102] It had fallen to ruin and was rebuilt by Afshīn, a page of Mu'taṣim, in the first half of the third century of the Hijra. These ḳaṭīfa (velvet) cloths were probably introduced there after that date. In Mustawfī's time it was again an unimportant village. The *Ḥudūd* [103] further remarks that Warthān (Vartān) exports "zīlū, and prayer-carpets (muṣallā-namāz)."

THE ĪL-KHĀNID PERIOD

Mustawfī [104] does little more than list the names of textile centers. In addition to those already cited above, there are the following:

Khiyāv. Its people for the most part are boot-makers and cloth-workers. Ḳabala produces excellent silk. Darāvard, Ḳal'a, Kahrān, Kīlān, Faṣlūn, Miyānidj, Marāgha, Dih Khwārḳān, Marand, Dizmār, Karkar, Nakhichevan, Urdūbād, Āzad, Ardjīsh, all produce cotton.

AN APPENDIX ON CAUCASIA

Before proceeding to examine the products of the other Caspian provinces, it might be profitable to add a few notes on Caucasia.

Mas'ūdī gave a short but detailed note on a Caucasian people and their manufactures:

In the neighbourhood of the kingdom of the Allāns, between the Caucasus and the Sea of Rūm (the Black Sea) are the Katchaks (Kashak). . . . the women wear white garments, Rūmī brocade, and siḳlāṭūn-scarlet, and various kinds of gold-embroidered brocade. In their country there are various kinds of cloth made of linen of a kind called Ṭalā, finer than Dabīḳī, and more lasting in wear. A garment of this stuff fetches as much as ten dinars. They are carried to the adjoining Islamic countries. These cloths are brought from the near-by countries, but cannot be compared with those of the Katchaks.[105]

Some information is also available about Georgia (Gurdjistān), which country only became Muslim after the invasions of Tamerlane. Marco Polo commented that "silk is produced in great abundance. They also weave cloths of gold and all kinds of very fine silk stuffs." [106] The capital was Tiflis of which Marco Polo said:

Round it are many towns and cities dependent on it. It is inhabited by Christians, that is by Armenians and Georgians; there are also some Saracens and Jews, but not many. Cloths of silk and

[101] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 142.

[102] Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, II, I, 366 spoke of trousers of khazz-silk called ḳaṭīfa, and (*op. cit.*, I, III, 1485) he mentioned a ḳaṭīfa of brocade (dībādj). Thus, all we can understand by this term is some rich embroidered stuff, sometimes a velvet.

[103] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 142.

[104] See the index to Mustawfī Ḳazwīni, *op. cit.*

[105] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, II, 45–46.

[106] Yule, *op. cit.*, I, 52.

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many other kinds are manufactured there. The people live by their handicraft and are subject to the Great King of the Tartars.[107]

Of Ḳars near Tiflis, Yāḳūt [108] said: "Ibrīsm-silk is imported from it. One of its inhabitants told me this." Of Dumānis, he also added: "Ibrīsm-silk is imported from it."[109]

Mustawfī described the ḳirmiz:

It is a worm resembling the silk-worm. It weaves (a cocoon) round itself and dies within it, but some fly out and lay eggs, and from the material they have woven, the grains of ḳirmiz are made. They are plentiful in Georgia (Gurd̲jistān).[110]

It might be added that the Georgians bought off the Mongols in 618 H. (1221 A.D.) before Gand̲ja with cloth (t̲hiyāb) and money.[111]

* * *

The arrangement of this chapter has been particularly difficult, because of the constantly changing frontiers, the vague way in which the geographers group these cities, and the confusion which existed about the remoter parts of this region.

[107] Aldo Ricci, *The Travels of Marco Polo,* trans. from the text of L. F. Benedetto (London, 1931), p. 24.

[108] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* IV, 57.

[109] *Op. cit.,* II, 585.

[110] J. Stephenson, *The Zoological Section of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaufī al-Qazwīnī* (London, 1928), text, p. 64, trans., p. 45.

[111] Ibn al-At̲hīr, *Chronicon,* ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leyden, 1851–76), XII, 351.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES:

Raphael de Mars, in his *Estat de la Perse en 1660,* ed. C. Schefer (Paris, 1890), made the following statement with reference to Gilan: "Outre ce trafic, il y a des soyes abrichon (ibrīsm) qui se produisent et se recueillent dans le pays de Guilan . . . . Les Arméniens d'ordinaire font ce trafic et les transportent par la Turquie à Smyrne et à Alep." He claimed that Shah Abbas started the Armenians in this trade.

For modern Armenian stuffs manufactured at Mar'as̲h and Malāṭ̲iya, see Le P. A. Poidebard, "Documents d'art oriental. Anciennes broderies arméniennes," *Revue des études arméniennes* (Paris, 1924).

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